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Great Men and Movements of the Christian Church

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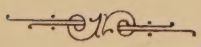
Christian Church

BY

REV. ALLAN CAMERON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

"THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS"



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To

My Wife.

PREFACE.

The following Chapters were delivered some years ago as Sunday Evening Lectures to my congregation, with the view of creating interest in some of the great men and movements of the Christian Church. They were not originally intended for publication, but the appreciation manifested by the audiences has led to their appearance in this permanent form in the hope of reaching a wider circle.

The lectures make no claim to original research or academic merit, and I regret the ministerial duties of a large congregation have prevented me from complete and thorough-going revision, and on that account I cannot vouch for absolute accuracy in detail.

My main object has been to present the general reader with a bird's-eye view of Church history in a popular form, and I shall feel abundantly rewarded if this effort of mine should stimulate a greater desire for reading in that wide and important field.

I acknowledge with gratitude valuable service rendered in revision and correction of proofs by Mr. A. N. D. Mackay, Oban.

ALLAN CAMERON.

Inverness, *April, 1914.*

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GREAT MEN AND MOVEMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Part I.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.

The Church of the Second Century.

The student of the New Testament, especially of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles, can have some general idea of the nature and extent of the Apostolic Church. The labours and letters of Paul come to within thirty years of the close of this period, and furnish material on which one may form a judgment as to what the Church at the close of the first century is likely to have been. On entering upon the confines of the second century, the ground is less familiar. The range is so wide, the territory so vast, and so largely enveloped in mist, that it is difficult within small limits to give a clear conception of the character of the Christian Church. If, however, in travelling through this territory so vast and wide, one obtains such glimpses of its hills and valleys as are fitted to give a general view of the whole, one's efforts are not altogether fruitless.

From the writings of the second century, as well as from Apostolic sources, one gathers that Christianity extended all over Western Asia and a large portion of Europe and Africa.

"There is not a single race of men," says Justin Martyr, "Barbarian, Greeks, or whatever name they may be called, warlike or peaceful, homeless or dwelling in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgiving are not offered in the name of Jesus the Crucified."

Irenæus speaks of the Church in Germany, Siberia, Gaul, and among the Celts, as well as of the Church in Egypt, Libya, and the centre of the world. And Tertullian, at the close of the second century, gives a graphic description of the Church amongst the Moors, the Spaniards, the nations of Gaul, and in parts of Britain, inaccessible to the Roman arms, but subject to Jesus Christ. The operations of fifty years of modern missions look very small when compared with the mission work of the second century. How patient and asserting were the efforts of Christians, how successful in planting the standard of the Cross in every land! There were no regular missionaries, no missionary institutions, no organised effort, and yet, in three hundred years from the death of John, the whole population of the Roman Empire, which then represented the civilised world, was nominally Christianised.

There are few parts of the world to-day to which the Gospel has not secured an entrance. It may be but like a drop of water, but behind it there is the living fountain that shall yet flow like streams in the desert. It may be but a single grain of seed, but it shall multiply till the whole field of the world is covered. The kingdoms of the earth shall wholly become the Kingdom of Christ.

> **"His name for ever shall endure,**
> **Last like the sun it shall,**
> **Men shall be blessed in Him,**
> **And blessed all nations shall Him call."**

What causes may be said to have specially contributed to this wonderful success? "The chief cause," says Schaff, "is to be found in the absolute intrinsic worth of Christianity

itself as the universal religion of salvation, and in the perfect teaching and example of its divine human founder."

Its Founder Himself struck the keynote when He said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." This positive and primary cause men of mind and culture, like Gibbon and Renan, ignore. They suggest other causes that doubtless contributed largely to the progress of the Christian faith, such as the belief of the early Christians in the power of miracles, in immortality, in future rewards and punishments, the austere morals of the Christians, and the offer that Christianity makes of complete pardon to men for all their sins. In addition to these positive causes, there may be added the negative advantage of the helpless condition of the Jewish and heathen world. The Jews were become wearied of ceremonies, of waiting for their longed-for delivery from the Roman yoke. They were beginning to lose faith in their religion. The ancient religion of Rome also had lost its power, and the Romans were inclined to seek a prop for their religious faith in foreign worship, of which the Pantheon remains a witness. The various philosophies failed to satisfy the cravings of the human heart. Many of the heathen sighed for a religion fitted to satisfy their mind, and to furnish a firm foundation for their hopes. Within them and around them there seemed to be no solid basis to rest upon.

Heathenism was breaking down in process of inevitable decay. The Roman Empire rested only on the power of the sword and on the power of temporal interests. The moral bonds of society were sundered. Unbounded avarice and vice of every kind reigned in Rome and in the provinces from the Throne to the hovel. The world was ripe for the living, life-infusing, renovating religion of Christianity, which at last appeared like a star of hope in the gathering night, fresh, fearless of death, glowing with hope and love, and destined to commend itself to all reflecting minds in

every coming age. "Christ," says Augustine, "appeared to men of the decrepit, decaying world, that while all around them was withering away, they might, through Him, receive new and powerful life."

The Christian Church propagated itself by the life and activity of its members. Every believer felt himself, inspired and inflamed by the love of Christ, to be the means of converting his fellowmen. The highways built for commerce and for purposes of State served also the messengers of peace and of the silent conquest of the Cross. Commerce was a powerful agent then as now in carrying the Gospel to the remotest parts of the world. Christianity first gained ground in the cities; and from the cities, Origen informs us, missionaries were sent out to the villages. Every Christian told his neighbour, the labourer his fellow-worker, the slave his fellow slave, the servant his master. "Many of the Christians," says Celsus, an able opponent of Christianity, "without any special calling, watch for all opportunities, and both within and without the temples boldly proclaim their faith. They find their way into the cities and the army, and, having called the people together, harangue them with fanatical gestures." This account of the fearless energy of the early Christians, coming as it does from the pen of an enemy, is not without its value.

Nor was the dissemination of Scripture truth a less powerful factor in the rapid spread of the Christian faith. The Scriptures were translated into several languages. Their perusal was strongly recommended, and this recommendation was steadily carried into effect. "The husband and wife," says Tertullian, "talked of them familiarly as they sat by the domestic hearth, and the children were accustomed to commit them to memory." But, as many of the people could not read, and as manuscripts or copies of the Scriptures were very expensive, portions of the Old Testament and the Gospels were rehearsed in public assemblies. Some men,

indeed, made it their business to read or recite the Scriptures. Eusebius writes how on one occasion he passed by an assembly when one of these walking concordances poured forth the stores of his prodigious memory. "As long," says the historian, "as I could only hear his voice, I supposed that he was reading, but when I came close up to him, I discovered that employing only the eyes of the mind, he uttered the divine oracle like one of the ancient prophets." Owing to the condition of the world spiritually, the irrepressible energies of the Christians, and the spread of the Word of Life, together with the causes adduced by Gibbon and Renan, Christianity, in virtue of its own intrinsic, internal power, made marvellous progress during the first and second centuries.

Who were the Christians, what their status, and who their leaders during this period? The very persecutions by which an attempt was made to suppress and eradicate Christianity became its promoters. The blood of the martyrs, says Tertullian, is the seed of the Church. It cannot be denied that there is some truth in the sneer of Celsus when he writes that "the members of the Christian Church are all made up from amongst the poorest—the wool workers, cobblers, leather dressers, and most illiterate men and women and children." This, however, is only part of the truth. In the Apostolic Church were found women of wealth and position, such as Lydia and Domicilla; also men of distinction, such as Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, Publius, the Roman ruler in Malta, Flavius Clemens, consul at Rome, Erastus at Corinth, and many others. Nor did the Christian Church lack women and men of like standing in the sub-Apostolic age. Pliny, writing in the year 111, says "that many of both sexes, of all ages and of every rank, were accused of being Christians." In the year 160, one of the Princes of Edessa, Abgar Bar Maanu by name, is supposed to have been converted, and this

supposition is strengthened by the fact that about this date the usual symbols of the old national worship on the coins of this prince are for the first time wanting, and the sign of the Cross appears in their place. About the close of the second century, the Christians of Edessa had a church built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem. There can be no doubt that while the bulk of the Christians were drawn from the ordinary walks of life, a considerable number of them occupied the very highest positions in society, and not a few of these suffered the loss of all things, of life itself, for their adherence to Christ and His cause.

The leaders of the second century Church are to be found in various centres. There is no detailed record of their work as pioneers and leaders of the people, as in the case of Paul and others like him; nor is there any detailed record of their life, their manner of influencing and leading men, or their mode of living, as in the case of Luther, Calvin, and Knox; there are, however, glimpses of their holy lives, their acts, and utterances, and in the case of some a few epistles, a few fragments of personal reminiscences, and in one or two instances, a work of some size and value. Within the limits of the second century are five—properly speaking, four —leaders or Fathers, three in the Eastern, and two in the Western Churches. Foremost in the Eastern Church is Ignatius. He belongs to the first rather than to the second century, and represented Syria. He was President of the Church at Antioch, was contemporary with the Apostles, and suffered martyrdom in 107. Ignatius was a remarkable man; he, no doubt, had more heart than head, and was far less a man of contemplation than a man of action. The most striking feature in his character was the evidence of intense love for Christ in the fullest sense; his was a personal love throbbing in every pulse. "My soul," he says, "bows down adoringly before the Cross; that scandal of the unbelieving is salvation and life to me." When conveyed a prisoner to

Rome to be cast to the lions in the Amphitheatre, he says, "Let me become the prey of the wild beasts, that God may become wholly mine." Above the roaring of the lions amongst which he was cast, and above the imprecations of the crowd were heard the joyous tones of his triumphal hymns. "Welcome nails and cross, welcome broken bones, violence and fierce beasts, wounded limbs and bruised body. Welcome all diabolical tortures if I may obtain Jesus Christ."

Of fifteen letters once attributed to Ignatius, eight are now generally believed to be of no value, but seven of them are regarded by many as genuine. Others reduce the number to three, and a few maintain that none of these were written by him. No point in the writings of that period is more keenly discussed at the present time than the genuineness or spuriousness of these letters, for the reason that upon some of them depend very largely whether or not Episcopacy is to be regarded as Apostolic or sub-Apostolic. This point will be referred to further on.

In the ancient village of Shechem in Palestine, Flavius Justinus, more commonly known as Justin Martyr, was born about the year 100. His father, a heathen, being in easy circumstances, gave his son the best education the times could furnish. Justin Martyr turned his attention to philosophy, and studied in the various schools. He wore the philosopher's cloak, went about from place to place teaching and propagating the tenor of his philosophy. His soul, however, craved for more solid and satisfying food than the heathen philosophy could offer, nor did he rest in peace till he embraced the Christian faith. This he did through the instrumentality of an aged Christian of a mild and reverent countenance whom he one day met while walking in solitary reverie by the sea-side. With skilful hand this aged Christian touched the deepest springs of the young man's heart, showing first where human philosophy

failed, and then directing him to the inspired Scriptures as the source of sure and certain knowledge. Having found the truth, Justin Martyr regarded it as his business to publish it. "Every one," he says, "that can preach the truth and does not preach it incurs the judgment of God." Justin Martyr was beheaded at Rome in 166 for refusing to deny Christ. He left three works behind him; two "Apologies," addressed to Antoninus Pius and the Roman Senate (A.D. 150), and a "Dialogue with Trypho," a little later in date. When asked by the heathen Prefect by whom he was condemned, whether he believed in his own ascent to heaven, he replied, "I believe I shall receive Christ's gift in peace. So certainly do I know this that there is no room for doubts."

There is in the Eastern Church yet another very prominent man—Polycarp, President of the Church at Smyrna. He was a disciple of John the Apostle, and forms one of the few links that connect the Apostolic Church with that of the second century. If the story of Clement be true, Polycarp was rescued by John and consigned to the care of a bishop in a neighbouring town. Of his birth and parentage nothing is known. From four sources, however, a considerable amount of knowledge is possessed of the man's manner of life and of his martyr death. These sources are the writings of Irenæus, one of his own followers, a letter of Polycarp himself to the Church at Philippi, a letter of Ignatius to Polycarp, and a letter of the Church of Smyrna to that at Pontus, giving free details of his death. When about to be condemned to death, the Roman Consul, moved by his venerable appearance, endeavoured to save him, and offered to set him free if he would revile Christ. His famous reply is often quoted: "Sixty and eight years have I served Him, and He never did me wrong. How can I now blaspheme my King who saved me?" He was burned at the stake in 166. The crowd collected material for the fire

from the ships and baths, and the Jews as usual, says the historian, "most freely offered their service for the purpose."

Clement of Rome is one of the two prominent men who may be regarded as representatives of the Western Church at the end of the first and the middle of the second century. Irenæus is the other. Few reliable facts are known about Clement. Too much extraneous and extravagant matter gathers round his history. He is supposed, with some appearance of truth, to be the Clement to whom Paul refers in Philippians iv. 3 as his true yokefellow. It is also believed that he was a Jew converted under Paul's preaching, that he followed him to Rome, and that he was in course of time made president of the Church there. He died at the close of the first century. His letter to the Corinthian Church is perhaps the most interesting and important point in connection with his history. It consists of fifty-nine chapters, and is one of the most valuable memorials of the primitive Church. This letter forms a strong argument against those who maintain that Episcopacy was recognised, if not established, towards the close of the Apostolic period. It contains no reference to Episcopal authority, although it hails from the Church of Rome, supposed, at that early age, to aspire to Episcopal dignity and power.

Irenæus is the last of the representative Fathers of the second century. He was a pupil of Polycarp, and writes how he remembers his master's gait, his appearance, when he used to sit and tell of his intercourse with John the Apostle, and learn from him about the Lord and His disciples. Irenæus was born in 135 and died in 202. He was the great missionary of Gaul, and became Bishop of Lyons. It is related that he acquired the barbarous language of the Celts that he might preach to them the Gospel in their own tongue. Irenæus was remarkable as a theologian. He took a prominent part in adjusting the dispute between the Western and Eastern Churches as to the time of the

celebration of the Easter Festival. He wrote a treatise against heresies, which is preserved intact, and is of importance as giving a picture of the moral and theological position of the Church of the period. These Fathers were heroic rather than theological; their cause was given to them, not made by them; they died as followers of the Apostles, as servants of Christ, not as discoverers of new doctrines or founders of great schools. Their interpretation of Scripture is sometimes as curious as it is defective. One interprets the two sparrows as signifying the soul and body; another makes out that the moon and the sun are inhabited by the spirits of men; another makes out the ordinance of marriage from the words, "where two or three are gathered together." One writer of considerable power maintains that "angels captivated by the daughters of men came down from heaven and married them, and out of complaisance to their brides, they communicated to them the art of polishing and setting precious stones, of preparing cosmetics, and of using other appliances which ministered to female vanity." "It appears," says another writer, "as if the great Head of the Church permitted these early writers to commit the grossest mistakes, and to propound the most foolish theories for the express purpose of teaching us that we are not implicitly to follow their guidance."

The last forty years of the first century are marked by persecutions of Nero and Domitian. Nero was evidently urged to his diabolical work by the desire to transfer from himself to the Christians the odium of the burning of Rome. This inhuman fiend is said to have sat and played upon his lute while Christians were tortured in his presence. Christian victims smeared with pitch and set on fire were used as torches to light his grounds while Nero drove through complacently in his chariot.

Domitian is said to have been prompted to issue his cruel edict and to destroy thousands of his Christian subjects by

the dread that the Christians would raise up a rival sovereign. The Consul Flavius Clemens, the Emperor's own cousin, and Domicilla, his wife, were condemned and sent into exile. It was under this persecution that the Apostle John was banished to the Isle of Patmos. There were four imperial persecutions in the second century. These took place in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus. They were not consecutive, but at intervals spreading over the whole century, and comprising the long period of sixty-five years. Some exaggerate and others minimise the number of victims of those persecutions. But there can be no doubt that it was enormous, especially amongst the working classes and slaves. The loss of moral strength sustained by the Empire cannot be exaggerated. Sometimes, in certain cities, all the Christians were authoritatively called together—and they were doubtless amongst the best and most industrious of the community—and unless they denied their faith, and offered sacrifice to the Roman sovereign or Roman deities, proceedings were at once taken against them, which resulted in their death by every manner of cruelty and torture. Multitudes were thus put to death in every part of the Roman Empire. In Lyons, the scene of the missionary labours of Irenæus, there was a fearful outburst of persecution. The bodies of the dead, foully mutilated, lay along the streets in heaps. These heaps were afterwards burned, and the ashes cast into the Rhone accompanied by the anathemas of the persecutors. "We shall see," said they, "whether they will rise again, and whether God can help them, and deliver them out of our hands." Polithinus, Bishop of Lyons, of ninety years of age, was subjected to every species of cruel treatment, and then cast into prison, where he died within two days. Blandina, a young female servant, only seventeen years of age, and of delicate health, displayed courage and constancy more than heroic. Lacerated with the scourge, roasted on a

red hot iron chair, and tossed on the horns of wild beasts in a net, she continued to the last her brave confession, "I am a Christian, and there are no evil practices among us." A young Patrician who was condemned to be beheaded, was, on his way to the place of execution, cheered by his mother, who said, "Son, be firm and fear not that death which so surely leads to life. Look to Him who reigns in heaven. To-day thy life is not taken from thee, but transformed by a blessed exchange into the life of heaven." The sufferings to which the Christians were subjected in order that they might deny their faith were horrible beyond description. They were slain in crowds amid exquisite tortures and savage barbarity. They were crucified, they were sewn in sacks made of the skins of wild beasts and thrown to be torn by dogs. And yet in the midst of all this, the martyrs preserved such calmness of spirit, and manifested such super-human patience and endurance, as completely baffled their enemies. Sometimes the bearing of the Christians on their way to be put to death so influenced some of their fiercest enemies as to induce them to embrace there and then the Christian faith, and these same persecutors within a few days endured the sufferings of the martyr's death with equal calmness and dignity.

Two questions are naturally suggested at this stage. What were the primary and leading causes of these persecutions? and, On what ground can the patient endurance of suffering on the part of these martyrs be accounted for?

What were the primary and leading causes of the persecutions? The Roman government and the Roman religion were closely associated, and what affected the one affected the other. The main idea was that religion was subordinate to and part of the Roman government. And as the Christian religion was believed to substitute for the State a universal Kingdom of God, embracing all human politics, it can easily be understood how the new faith would become peculiarly

abhorrent to the Roman authorities. Some Christians, on the ground of conscience, refused to perform military service, an attitude that evoked the persecution of the State. Trajan, a thoughtful, wise, and in many respects a good ruler, was the first to look seriously at this aspect of the question, and to institute a law by which the Christian religion was to be regarded as illegal—an "illicita religio." This struck the greatest blow at the root of Christianity, for it placed the power of the State at the disposal of the persecutors whoever they might be. Particularly obnoxious to the government was the aggressive character of Christianity, as also were its private assemblies, which were suspiciously looked upon as secret societies, and which led the government in some places to look upon the whole movement as treasonable.

Having the sanction and the power of law behind them, the heathen found it very easy to persecute the Christians, especially when the sentence of condemnation was passed simply on the ground of acknowledgment of the Christian faith. As the trade in Ephesus decreased when Christianity was introduced, and the populace on that account were enraged to persecution, so it was throughout the Roman Empire. There were fewer sacrifices required and less idol making as the number of Christians increased. Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, says, "The contagion of this superstition has not only seized the city, but also the villages and open country." The temples became almost deserted, the ordinary rites of worship had become for a long time interrupted, and victims for sacrifices were rarely purchased. When it is considered how many depended for their living upon the work connected with the idol temples and idol making, it is easily seen how ready the crowd would be to persecute those whom they regarded as taking the bread out of their mouths.

The Christians were accused by the heathens of being

guilty of all manner of evil—they were cannibals, they were licentious, they were traitors and murderers. If any calamity happened to the country, it was imputed to the Christians. Tertullian says, "Let the Tiber overflow its banks, let the Nile fail to inundate the country, let the heavens become brass, and let the sun be darkened, let famines and pestilence visit the land, and at once the cry is raised, 'The Christians to the lions!'" One can scarcely help thinking that the persecution of the early Church was owing to a considerable extent to selfishness and superstition. Idolatry afforded employment to tens of thousands of artists and labourers of every kind. It afforded trade to the farmer and rearer of cattle, all of whom had a direct pecuniary interest in its conservation, while the ignorant rabble, taught to associate Christianity with misfortunes, were persistent in their clamour for its overthrow. In addition to this, the pure and spiritual religion of the New Testament was distasteful to the human heart, and its denunciations of wickedness in every form stirred up the malignity of the licentious and unprincipled.

Such were some at least of the causes of the persecutions of the early Church, and because of these the position of the Christian was always unsafe. In private or in public, in his own house or at the table of his friends, in the camp or in the city, he was encompassed with danger, he was a victim devoted to the fury of the populace so soon as any trivial circumstance would arouse its slumbering ire.

The second question suggested by these persecutions is, On what grounds can one account for the readiness with which these martyrs could give up their lives?

Every movement of great excitement almost invariably gathers about it a surplus of human beings who are easily influenced and always ready to lose their heads. Early Christianity was a movement of this kind, and it has laid itself open to the attacks of enemies as having had martyr

sacrifices offered upon its altars without sufficient cause. There have been instances, no doubt, when the zeal for martyrdom was excessive and unreasonable. Tertullian tells the story that, during the reign of Commodus, in a certain district of Asia, a multitude of persons, actuated by this absurd passion for martyrdom, presented themselves in a body before the pro-consul, Arius Antoninus, and proclaimed themselves Christians. The sight of such a crowd of victims appalled the magistrate, and, after passing judgment on a few, he is said to have driven the remainder from his tribunal, exclaiming, "Miserable men, if you wish to kill yourselves, you have ropes or precipices." This, if true, is doubtless extreme, and most likely exceptional. Very probably the expectation of the martyr's crown may have inspired many to expose themselves unnecessarily to persecution. The blessing of immediate admission to Paradise, which Mohammed promised to all who fell in battle for Islam, was, in the early days of the Christian Church, awarded to all those who endured the pain of martyrdom. And this, doubtless, had its effect in making them regardless of life. Fanaticism may have led not a few to sacrifice their lives without sufficient cause. But looking fairly at the persecution of the early Church, which extended over two hundred and fifty years, and having regard to the losses sustained and the tortures endured, no one with an unprejudiced mind can feel satisfied that fanaticism formed even one of the vital forces that led to such enormous and willing sacrifices. A satisfactory explanation must be sought elsewhere, and can only be found in the sphere of the spiritual and eternal, in the superiority of eternity over time, mind over matter, and spirit over body. There is no place where these show more distinctly and to greater advantage than under the shadow of the Cross. It is Christ alone that brought life and immortality to light, and it was the spirit of Christ in the martyrs that enabled

them to see Him who is invisible, and to lay hold of Him as God's Son suffering with them. Perpetua, an African martyr, a young woman of twenty-two, showed force of character and strength of resolution truly divine. Besides the natural fear of death of the most painful nature, she resisted the pleadings of a father whom she loved. Again and again did her broken-hearted parent cast himself at her feet, calling her by every tender name and imploring her to spare her own and her infant's life and her father's shame. Her heart was moved, but she could not sacrifice to the gods nor revile her Saviour. "My father's grey hairs pained me," she said; "oh, what a dreadful time I passed in prison! The excessive heat caused by the multitude of prisoners, the rough treatment of the soldiers, and my anxiety for my child made me miserable. But the Lord stayed the rough wind in the day of the east wind so that the dungeon became a palace to me." Examples like this show how one can be supported by supernatural power in circumstances of the most trying nature, how the prison cell can become a sanctuary of fellowship with God, how the stake and amphitheatre of wild beasts, and of men wilder than wild beasts, can become the golden gate for a joyous and triumphant entrance into the presence and eternal fellowship of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER II.

The Church of the Second Century (*continued*).

During the first part of this century, the Church had comparative rest from persecution. Thought had time to develop, and heresies had time to grow and flourish. These heresies are too numerous and most of them too worthless to be considered. There were two influences at work during this century that tended much to mould the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church—that of Gnosticism during the first sixty years, and that of Montanism during the last forty years. When the Church had repose, the most formidable attacks were aimed at her, not with carnal, but with intellectual weapons. In proportion as the century advanced, the fervour of its religious life declined. The exclusive devotion to intellectual pursuits in the East, and the growing familiarity with the Roman world in the West, were alike calculated to dim in the youthful heart of Christianity those impressions of early love and joy which had enabled the disciples of a former age to endure the Cross and despise the shame. From the rationalism of the Gnostics, who had their headquarters in the colleges of Antioch, Alexandria, and Asia Minor, there was a reaction owing to the "Montanistic Revival" of the latter portion of the second century. This movement originated in Phrygia, but spread rapidly over all the Church and exercised a great influence. It found an able exponent and defender of its principles in Tertullian towards the close of the century. Montanism was to the second century what Methodism was to the religious life of England in the eighteenth century. It was a revival movement, an attempt to resuscitate the

dormant energies of Christianity, an endeavour to kindle into a glowing flame those smouldering embers of religious life which were all that remained of the great Apostolic fire. This movement brought to light evidences on the part of the Church of zeal and ready sacrifices which its members were always prepared to make for the sake of Christ. Artisans engaged in idol making, men and women engaged in connection with idol sacrifices, workmen of various descriptions who earned their bread in the service of the idol temples, gave up their employment for conscience' sake; and their doing so involved not only pecuniary loss and privation, but exposed them to danger and to death. Nor was their brotherly love less remarkable than their self-sacrifice. At their love feasts, and especially at the Lord's Supper, distinctions of rank and wealth had no existence. The master and the slave sat side by side and exchanged friendly greetings. This love constituted a mysterious and secret but indissoluble bond—a vast confederation which proved, in the conflict of persecution, stronger than the Empire of Rome. This love of brotherhood which welled up in the heart, found different outlets in Christian charity and philanthropy. Slaves were ransomed by the Church. The Church of Carthage, four hundred in number, collected a sum equivalent to £900 sterling in our money to liberate some of its imprisoned members. The widows and orphans were cared for, fifteen hundred of them being supported by the Church of Rome at the annual cost of £12,000 sterling in our money. When Alexandria and Carthage were visited by a terrible plague, and when the dying and the dead were forsaken by their heathen relatives, the Christians, fearless of death, attended and buried them. As might be expected, such generosity and sympathy produced a profound impression upon the Church's very enemies, and evoked from Lucian, an able opponent of Christianity, the commendation, "The eagerness of these people when one of them falls into

misfortune is incredible. They spare nothing to bring them aid." The moral character of these Christians was high-toned. Pliny, in his account of them to the Emperor Trajan, says that, "after the strictest examination he could make even of those who renounced Christianity, he found this to be the greatest fault that they were guilty of—that they used harmlessly to meet to worship Christ, and at these meetings to bind themselves by a sacrament or oath that they would not do any wickedness, that they would commit no thefts, robberies, nor adulteries, nor falsify their words, nor deny anything wherewith they were entrusted when it was required of them." "The Christians of old," says another writer, "looked upon honesty and an upright carriage as a considerable part of their religion. To speak truth, to keep their word, to perform their promises, and to act sincerely in all their dealings, were as sacred and as dear to them as their lives."

The family life was purified and elevated by the Christian faith. Christianity aimed at making the marriage union one of equality, one of mutual respect and affection. As the ruins of Pompeii show the demoralised condition of society amongst the heathen, the catacombs of Rome, with their beautiful emblems and inscriptions, indicate the purity and beauty of family life amongst the Christians, as well as its severe temperance and simplicity. "On the way to heaven," says Clement of Alexandria, "the best provision is frugality; moderation is the shoe, and benevolence the staff." Had Clement lived in these days, he would be a warm supporter of the temperance movement. "I admire," he says, "those who are fond of water, the medicine of temperance, and flee as far as possible from wine, shunning it as they would fire."

Yet these early Christians were neither morose nor gloomy. "We despise not the enjoyments of God's works," says Tertullian. Gymnastic exercise was strongly recom-

mended by many of the early Christians, also angling. But the better angling, that of fishing for men was pointed out. "Whatever things," say Clement, "are natural to man, we must not eradicate, but impose limits and times."

The attitude of the second century Church towards slavery was very significant. The principles laid down in Apostolic writings were carefully carried out. Had she entered upon a revolutionary crusade against a system so deeply rooted and so widely spread, her action might have proved most disastrous. But instead, she tried to impress upon master and slave the worth of individual man, that no matter what a man's position in society was, all men were equal before God. Christian masters were taught to mitigate the evil of the system in every possible way. From the first, the Christian Church asserted equally the rights of man and woman. It claimed charity as of fundamental value. It upheld the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage tie. It laid the foundation of the Christian family and a happy home. It moderated the evils and undermined the foundations of slavery. It made relentless war upon the bloody games of the circus, and upon cruelty and oppression in every form, and succeeded in infusing, to no small extent, a spirit of love and brotherhood in the world.

It is most probable that the form of administration of baptism practised in the early century was immersion and not sprinkling. Very little importance is now attached to the form; and if a common sense view had been taken of the difference of climate between Asia Minor and the British Isles, there would have been even less importance attached to it from the beginning of the controversy on the subject. The Didache discovered in 1873 by Professor Byrennios in Constantinople, and supposed to have been written in the beginning of the second century, for direction in worship and administration of Sacraments, says, "If thou hast not living water (rivers), baptise with other water (pools or cisterns),

and if thou canst not in cold water, then in warm. But if thou hast neither (in sufficient quantity), pour water on the head thrice unto the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Ghost." There was evidently enough, or at least a considerable degree of freedom granted in connection with the form of baptism. The first English Baptists did not practise immersion, but were content with sprinkling. The Reformers took a large and liberal view of the matter. "Whether the person to be baptised is to be wholly immersed or whether he is only to be sprinkled is not of the least consequence," says Calvin. The Church should be at liberty to adopt either form according to the diversity of climate, although it is evident that the term baptise means to immerse, and that this was the form used by the primitive Church. The Westminster divines adopted Calvin's views.

That the baptism of infants could have no prominence either in the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic Church seems clear enough. Christianity drew its converts from amongst the heathen and the Jews, and they were admitted into the Christian society by the door of this ordinance. Baptism was the initiation ceremony. All who were admitted as Christians could not be baptised in infancy, therefore infant baptism could not have had much prominence. The early Fathers recognised infant baptism in their writings—Tertullian himself not excepted. There is not a single word against the lawfulness of this ordinance. From the relation of the Jewish Church to the children, from the various references to baptism in the New Testament, and from the frequent reference to it in sub-Apostolic writings, the inference is sufficiently strong for one to come to the conclusion that infant baptism was practised in all the Christian families of the early Church.

"The ordinance of the Lord's Supper was dispensed," Tertullian writes, "by the president of the congregation or society of Christians—the president being the teaching

elder," or by the man amongst the Christians of a given congregation or society best qualified to speak to edification, and best fitted to show a good example in his daily life. The Supper, till the close of the first century, was dispensed in the evening in private houses—there being no churches—and after the Agape or love feast. But at the beginning of the second century, the ordinance was celebrated on every Lord's day and early in the morning—"before daybreak," Pliny writes. The hour was necessitated probably by the persecution of the times. Cyprian says that in his time many celebrated it every day, taking their authority (a far-fetched one) from the words of our Lord, "Give us this day our daily bread." The following description of the dispensation of the Supper is given by Justin Martyr: "After prayer, we greet one another with a brotherly kiss, then bread with a cup of water and wine is handed to the president. He receives them, and offers praise and thanks to the Father. When he has ended prayer, the whole congregation responds 'Amen.' After this, the deacons, as we call them, give to each of those present some of the blessed bread and of the wine mingled with water, and carry it to the aged in their dwelling. The food is for none but the believing and baptised who live according to the commandments of Christ."

From the Didache it appears that the lives of applicants required to be strictly examined into before admission to the Supper. They were to be brought to the president by the deacons. "If a maker of idols comes," says this Directory, "let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected; if one belonging to a theatre comes, a player or a dancing master, let him leave his employment, or let him be rejected." The qualifications for admission were by no means loosely regarded. It is of some importance to notice that children of tender years were communicants. This points to the inference that the children of Christian parents

were regarded as members. There is much to be said in favour of this view, that all baptised are members of the Christian Church till they disqualify themselves by wrong living. Wherever there was a number of Christians, out of that number there were appointed over them one or more, superior in gifts and exemplary in character, to be their instructors, and to preside over their meetings. Where this was not done by the leader of a large society of Christians, then one or more presidents dispensed the communion amongst their brethren.

In connection with the dispensing of the Supper, the early Church countenanced very considerable license in form, which might be regarded as a departure from its primitive simplicity. During the first two centuries some took the communion sitting, others standing, none kneeling. Some took it in silence, others while hymns and psalms were being sung. At one time it was dispensed while unbaptised people were present, and those under discipline. At another time all these were dismissed. From the Latin word signifying dismissal, called out by the deacon, the word mass was derived. Nevertheless, while such license was granted, there remained in substance the simple form of the administration of bread and wine, handed by the president to the deacons, and given to the people. In this respect the Presbyterian form is in agreement not only with the original dispensation of the Supper, but with the practice of the Church for the first two centuries at least.

The lives of members were strictly looked after. No man whose life was irregular was allowed to communicate, and when members erred, they were placed under severe discipline. The terms of discipline were sometimes too severe and too long, but that fact shows the importance attached by the early Church to purity of life and manners in connection with Church membership. The Lord's Supper was not regarded merely as a privilege that a Christian

could enjoy and dispense with when he felt disposed. No one was looked upon as a true Christian unless he partook of the Supper. To communicate was considered as binding upon all Christians as any of the ten commandments. Indeed, the intense love of the early Church for the communion led her to attach too much importance to it, and latterly to make it indispensable to salvation.

The Christians met for worship as opportunity offered. "We meet," says one writer, "wherever and whenever we can." Yet the Lord's day was their special time for meeting. The Sabbath day and the Lord's day were different. The former was the Jewish Sabbath, falling on the Christian Saturday, the seventh day of the week, and the Lord's day was the first day; the one commemorative of the rest of creation, the other commemorative of the resurrection of Christ. The converted Jews, out of veneration for the Sabbath, continued to observe it, and to interpret many of its laws as bearing on Christianity. But the day following was that on which they specially met to rejoice over the resurrection of Christ. Thus, side by side with the Jewish Sabbath, there grew up the custom of meeting for worship on the first day of the week. Christian Jews for some time kept both days, but towards the end of the second century, those who kept the Sabbath were out of favour with the orthodox party, and the Lord's day was specially observed. Where the Jews predominated—as Christians—the two days were observed, but where there were but few Jews in the Church, only the Lord's day was held. This created a controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches, between Rome, where the Gentile Christians predominated, and Asia Minor, where the Church was largely composed of Jews. It was not till the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century that the Church seemed to appreciate the perpetual obligation of the fourth commandment in its substance as a weekly day of rest rooted in the physical and

moral necessities of man. So long as the early Christians dismissed from their minds the binding obligations of a seventh day of rest and consecration, and based the Lord's day only upon the resurrection of Christ, they were probably less careful to abstain from work. Tertullian, at the close of the second century, writes that he considered it a Christian duty to abstain from secular care and labour on the Lord's day lest they should give place to the devil. This is the first expressed evidence of cessation from labour on the Lord's day among Christians. It was not till the fourth century, when Sunday laws were enacted by Constantine, that it was possible for Christians to have rest from labour on the Lord's day. When thus they were at liberty, they met to worship on the Sunday, and in certain places of worship. Justin Martyr says that upon Sundays all Christians, whether in town or country, used to assemble in one place. The heathen spoke of the Christians as atheists because they had no gorgeous temples like theirs. It was impossible for the latter to have churches during times of persecution. Until the close of the second century, they held public worship in private houses, at the graves of the martyrs, or in the crypts of the catacombs. In 230, Alexander Severus granted a site for a church to the Christians in Rome against the protest of the tavern keepers; for, said he, "the worship of God in any form was better than drink shops."

In the family, God was worshipped faithfully and regularly. Hymns and psalms were largely used and sung at family worship and after meals. When the people met in church, they stood—there being no seats; or, as some writers say, to keep themselves awake and lively. In later times, when seats were provided, Chrysostom says it was part of the deacon's work to call the audience to attention when the service began. In the Greek Liturgy the words are put into the deacon's mouth, "Let us duly stand upright." From a passage in Tertullian, Dr. Cave infers that the

worship began with prayer, followed by reading from Old and New Testaments. Then an exposition of the Scriptures was given. Sermons from single texts were scarcely known. In the oldest known sermons by an unknown author of the middle of the second century, which were discovered in 1875, the hearers are addressed as brothers and sisters. Music was carefully attended to and cultivated when the Church had rest. In the year 180 the Christians of Alexandria had a flute accompaniment in the chant of the Last Supper. In addition to the Psalter, there were used in the praise service of the Church the New Testament hymns, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Nunc Dimittis. Later there were added many hymns from various sources, some known, some unknown.

The answer to the question, "Who were the office-bearers of the second century Church?" defines its polity and organisation. If one says its office-bearers were elders and deacons only, the government was Presbyterian. If they were bishops, priests, and deacons, the government was Episcopal. From the end of the first century to near the end of the second century is a transition period, and its documents and traditions are not very reliable. Room is left for critical research and difference of opinion. That Episcopal government is of Apostolic origin is held by the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the high Anglican Churches. Their theory is that it was directly or indirectly of Apostolic origin. This view they support by various arguments, none of which seem very strong, not sufficiently strong, as Schaff affirms, to construct a theory with any measure of certainty. The Presbyterian theory of the two classes of office-bearers, the interchange of episcopos for elder and bishop—a word borrowed from Greek usage, and indicating the character of the office—is maintained by Lutherans and Presbyterians and by eminent Episcopal writers, such as Mosheim,

Neander, Lightfoot, Stanley, and Hatsch, and also by Baur and Renan, who judge as mere critics, and who, being tied to neither party, cannot be expected to be biased in any way.

Stanley says that "Of priest, bishop, deacon, patriarch, or pope, there is not a trace in the Gospels," that "for more than a hundred years bishop and presbyter were convertible terms," and that the elders were practically the rulers of the Church, that "ecclesiasticism is a human invention, not a Divine ordinance. You can read history backwards and forwards, but you will never prove that government by bishop, priest, and deacon has been ordained by Christ or His apostles." When one comes to the second century, one parts company with Church of England friends, especially with Bishop Lightfoot, who maintains that at the close of the first century, Episcopacy was beginning to show itself in certain districts, that it was indeed in embryo at the close of the Apostolic age, and asserted itself during the first two decades of the second century. Now, if Episcopacy were to be found anywhere, it would be found in connection with the Apostles who survived their brethren, and in or near the districts with which they were connected. There are two letters of the Fathers extant, which cast light upon this point—one by Clement of Rome to the Corinthian Church, and the other by Polycarp to the Church at Philippi. Clement's letter was held in great veneration and was read in the churches for two centuries. This letter was sent to Corinth in connection with an action taken by some of the members against their rulers, the elders. If there was a bishop of Rome, or if Clement himself was one, he would surely write as a bishop; or, if there was a bishop in Corinth, he would have demanded submission to him. On the contrary, however, there is a strong appeal to submit to the elders. From this it would appear that, at the beginning of the second century, the bishops' authority was

a thing unknown at Rome or Corinth, two places where John's influence could not but have been felt, if, as Lightfoot says, he established Episcopacy.

In Polycarp's epistle to the Church at Philippi there is no mention of bishop, but frequent reference to elders. It might be expected that if John established Episcopacy, there would be some reference to bishops in his pupil's letter, especially when submission was in question. There are documents to show that, while Polycarp presided over the Church of Smyrna till the time of Irenæus, the supreme power was in the Council of Elders. In a fragment of a work by Hippolytus, of date 190, there is reference to a case of discipline, when the man was rebuked and cast out of the Church, but it was not done by the authority of a bishop. From these facts it would appear that Episcopacy was not established till the end of the second century, sufficiently far remote from the Apostles and their time to show that it was not of Apostolic origin, but that it was only an expansion and enlargement of the Presbyterian system of government which existed at least for fifty years after the death of the Apostle John.

If the Church of the sub-Apostolic age, the Church of the larger portion of the second century was not Episcopal, what was it? It was Presbyterian, verging towards and growing into Episcopacy. If the office-bearers were elders, or bishops and deacons, where was the minister? The teachers and evangelists and other officials were included in elders and deacons. A given Christian community had its elders and deacons. It is doubtful whether such were always appointed by the Apostles or their substitutes. This Christian society would be addressed by the one who had the best gifts and who was appointed their president or minister. When there were several gifted men, they would take the work in turn. They were the teachers and ministers of the primitive Church. By and by, when men of education

from amongst the heathen were converted and needed to be examined for admission into the Church, it was found necessary that the presidents should be men of education, and so a school was established in Alexandria. This was the origin of the trained Christian ministry.

Episcopacy grew through force of circumstances. When in a town a church multiplied itself into several churches as Christianity grew, the original church continued to exercise supervision, and the minister of that church to superintend. This may have been the first step towards Episcopacy, but the chief reason was the excess of heresy. Now it is evident that it was when the Church had some measure of peace that heresy could grow, and this was not the case till the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. The power of discipline was invested in one man, so as to render it easier to root out heresy. If it is any satisfaction to the upholders of Episcopacy to know that their system dates from the end of the second century, they may have it. So may the Presbyterians be satisfied that their system dates from Apostolic times. But is there not far too much made of both systems? What may be best suited for one age may not prove so for another. There is no countenance given in Scripture to any one system as that alone to which all must conform and yield. Systems of Church organisation and of theology should be capable of revision and improvements to suit the circumstances and spirit of the age.

The Apostolic succession can scarcely be touched upon here. Indeed it does not come within the scope of the second century Church. It was not thought of till the time of Cyprian towards the end of the third century. And it does seem strange that, if the Apostles instituted such succession with so much virtue in it, it should not have been spoken of by the saints of the second century. Perhaps this ecclesiastical, hereditary, spiritual virtue grows stronger and clearer the further it is removed from the Apostles. It

would almost seem so from the following utterance of Canon Liddon: "That which in our belief and to our sorrow the non-Episcopal communities lack is participation in those privileges which depend upon a ministry duly authorised by Christ, our Lord, and in particular, the precious Sacrament of His body and blood." According to this statement, all non-Episcopal Churches are not constituted by our Lord, therefore they have no true privileges, least of all that of the Sacrament. Non-episcopal communities, according to Canon Liddon, have no real Sacrament. They are not Churches at all unless they can trace an unbroken succession from the Apostles, which, on the principle of common sense, can scarcely be expected to be possible, though Canon Liddon and those who think with him seem to believe it certain, and that against facts of history, or rather the lack of such facts. According to this statement, it is not faith, love, holiness, every Christian excellency, and above all, obedience to Christ's commands that constitute a Christian Church. A Christian society may have all that, its members may be united to Christ by the indwelling of the spirit, but unless they come under the magic wand of the bishop, they cannot be regarded as a Church. Canon Liddon and Mr. Gladstone say that, in non-churching other Churches, they are only doing what was done by the Puritan and Presbyterian bodies from Cartwright downwards. This does great injustice to these bodies. Though Presbyterians say that the Church defined in Scripture is Presbyterian, they do not deny that that is a true Church which does not possess that constitution. The Westminster Catechism says that the Catholic or Universal Church is composed of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion, and is more or less pure as it conforms to the ordinances and obedience of Christ. Such exclusive views of the Church of Christ as those of Canon Liddon, such a narrow conception of Christ's Kingdom, are very much out of keeping with the

spirit of the Gospel. What matters it whether or not men's views square with certain ecclesiastical organisations, whether they are within a certain Church or not, if they have faith in Jesus Christ and live after His example? The Kingdom of Christ is not in letter but in spirit, not in word, but in power.

CHAPTER III.

Origen (185-254 A.D.).

Origen was born in Alexandria in 185 or 186. At that time Alexandria was the great focus of light in philosophy, in letters and in religion. His father Leonidas, was a teacher of Greek literature; his mother was a most industrious woman. Origen showed great ability as a boy, often perplexing his father by the questions he asked. But his father, though he reproved him, secretly thanked God for such a son.

"It is night," writes his biographer, "the boy is asleep, the father kneels beside his bed, gazes into his beautiful face. He uncovers the child's breast, bends forward and gently kisses it. 'What are you doing?' asks the mother. 'Why are you kissing the child's breast?' 'Because,' says the father, 'it is the temple in which the Holy Spirit is preparing himself a dwelling.'" The boy of whom it is so written became the most famous scholar of his time, the most intellectual teacher, the ablest expositor of the Scriptures, and the man who left the deepest impress upon his age by his philosophical and Biblical research; the man who had no rival intellectually in the Church of that period.

From towards the end of the second century there was no imperial persecution for about twenty years, but there were always more or less local persecutions. Clement of Alexandria says of the time "many martyrs are daily burned, confined, or beheaded before our eyes." The Emperor Septimius Severus, in the beginning of the third century, 202, enacted a rigid law against further extension of both Christianity and Judaism. This occasioned violent per-

secution in Egypt and in North Africa, which produced some of the fairest flowers of martyrdom. Alexandria could not possibly escape this persecution. There were the head-quarters of the Christians, there was their college and their famous professor Clement, at whose feet the Christian youth sat, and by whose instruction they were prepared for the ministry. Amongst these youths Origen occupied an illustrious position. He became his master's favourite. One day he said to him, "Young man, I did not become a Christian till I was a middle-aged man. I had for my teachers the most distinguished men in Greece, in Asia, in Palestine, but they failed to satisfy my thirst. I met with an obscure and humble master; when I heard him I would have nothing to do with the others. He carefully gathered honey over the fields of the holy Scriptures. I was taught by his example. I understood; we must search and examine. Young man, search and examine as I have done. He that seeketh shall find, and God openeth to them that knock. If you do not believe," continued Clement, "you will not understand. Faith is as essential to the life of the mind as breath is to the life of the body; Christian knowledge is a torch which God lights in our souls."

At the request of his pupils and friends, this great teacher fled for his life to Palestine. Origen sadly missed him, but a greater sorrow was in store for him. His house was surrounded by guards, his father Leonidas was seized and cast into prison; sad was his house that night. The father was sure to be beheaded in a few days, and the mother to be left a helpless widow with a helpless family. What will the youth Origen do, deprived of his teacher and his father? "My father," says the boy of seventeen, "will not go to death alone. I will walk by his side. I will tell the executioners that Christ is my Saviour and my God, and I will offer to them my head." The mother was unable to calm the impetuous youth. On the morrow he was deter-

mined to support his father and die with him. The mother entered his room as he was sleeping; she took out his clothes and hid them. In the morning arguments and tears would not make the mother yield. Origen was compelled to keep his bed. "I fear my father loves me more than he does Christ. I will write him." So he did write him a most pathetic letter, in which he encourages and exhorts him to suffer martyrdom fearlessly. "Take care," he says, "not to abandon your faith for love of us."

Leonidas was put to death and multitudes of other Christians, many of whom bore the noblest testimony to Christ. The Christians had no rest from persecution for twenty years.

In 222, Alexander Severus assumed the reins of government. He was very unlike his abandoned predecessor. This prince had sympathy for all that was good, and reverence for everything connected with religion. Though a worshipper of the Roman gods, he had the deepest sympathy with Christianity. In his chapel where he offered his morning devotions, there stood alongside the statues of Apollonius of Tyana, and of Orpheus, the bust of Christ. It is said that it was his intention to cause Christ to be enrolled among the Roman deities. This Emperor constantly repeated the words of Christ, "as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." These words he also caused to be engraven on the walls of his palace and on public monuments. How is the admiration for Christ on the part of the Emperor to be accounted for? He was not a Christian. Though he did not persecute the Church, he did not recognise its claims upon him. Mothers have much to do with the moulding of the character and directing the sympathies of their sons. Alexander's mother was greatly devoted to him; her name was Julia Mammæa. She possessed great influence over him. On one occasion when she resided at Antioch, she sent for

Origen. She wished to hear of Christianity from him. Who better than he could explain it? Who knew better how to make Christianity intelligible and attractive? The Church likely owed to Origen's interview with the Emperor's mother her son's goodwill towards it.

Origen was seventeen years when his father was put to death, in the year 202. He made the best of his circumstances. He devoted himself to learning; in a short time he succeeded his great teacher Clement. His life as a teacher was not without hardship. On one occasion he was obliged to sell his books, and to live on the proceeds at the rate of twopence a day. The junior pupils he put under another teacher, that he might devote himself to the instruction of the more advanced, but neither his mind nor his time was exclusively devoted to teaching. Origen lived the religion of Christ as well as professed it. Though he at first was unmolested, many other Christians in Alexandria were dragged to the stake as well as cast into prison. The faithfulness with which Origen accompanied the martyrs to death excited the wrath of the heathens. They laid violent hands upon him; they dragged him to their temple. "Worship Serapis," they said. (Serapis was the supreme god amongst the Egyptians). This he refused to do. They then clothed him in a gorgeous garment, they clothed him in the vestments of the priests, they placed him at the steps at the temple, with palms in his hands to distribute amongst the worshippers. Origen obeyed, but as the worshippers presented themselves he said, "Take not the palm of the idol, but the palm of Jesus Christ."

No spacious college hall was occupied by this teacher. The heathens did not allow such at the time. He taught in a hired room. He was no priest, nor elder, nor deacon, nor presbyter; he was merely a layman, though the greatest theologian. Many people, men, women, and youths gathered to him; the room was crowded. The young Egyptian,

miserably clad, pale-faced, without shoes, his eyes burning, held them for hours hanging on his lips. Listen to a sentence or two of his teaching; you need not agree with what he says, but there are great truths in his sayings: "Most men hold by the traditions of their fathers. They learn to know religion by the teaching of a school or a Church. They believe what they are told to believe, and thus they have nothing more than faith without life. The free and enlightened Christian does not act thus; longing for divine truth, he draws it himself from the well of the holy Scriptures. I summon you not to the teaching of priests, but to the teaching of God. The Scriptures are like one grand harmonious instrument made by God, of which the separate parts are all in tune, like the strings of a lyre. In the Scriptures you will find no false note, no error, no contradiction, nothing insignificant or superfluous. If you meet with a thought that is to you a rock of offence, accuse yourself alone, and despair not of seeing that rock break open and send forth springs of living water."

In 215, when Origen was thirty years of age, severe threats of persecution obliged him to leave Alexandria and flee to Palestine. He lived in Cæsarea, a seaport between Mount Carmel and Jerusalem. The bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea, Alexander and Theoclistus, received him with open arms. Though not an office-bearer of the Church, they prevailed upon him to preach in their pulpits. His expositions of Scripture were remarkable; the churches were filled and the crowds were delighted and edified. Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, sent a terrible letter: "What do I hear, that a layman preaches publicly to the people? It is an unheard of thing that a mere believer should speak in the presence of his bishop." This letter had no weight with the bishops of Palestine. Demetrius, out of jealousy, perhaps, of this great scholar and preacher became bent upon persecuting

him. He gathered up all the heresies he could against him, and succeeded after two councils in having him excommunicated. Demetrius proclaimed his deposition from his office as a preacher, to which the Palestine bishops had raised him, and from Church fellowship throughout the Roman empire. The bishop of Rome endorsed the sentence; the bishops of Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Achaia repudiated it, and held out their hands to Origen. "Let us pity rather than hate them," says Origen of his persecutors; "let us pray for them rather than curse them, for Jesus Christ told us to bless and not to curse."

Cæsarea became famous through the teaching of Origen. He was surrounded by crowds of disciples. Innumerable teachers, ministers, confessors, and martyrs were trained in his school.

In 250, there was a great outburst of persecution under the Emperor Decius. Origen, then sixty-five years of age, was cast into prison; he was tortured in the hope that he would deny his faith; but he who was willing to die for Christ in his youth, was equally willing to do so in his old age. The heathen cannot have their triumph. When in prison, he wrote comforting letters to those, who like himself, were suffering for their faith. At last he was set at liberty, but the torture he endured hastened his death, which took place in 254, in the city of Tyre, where his tomb, near the high altar in the cathedral, was shown for many centuries, until it was destroyed during the time of the Crusades.

This remarkable man was not only the greatest scholar of his age, the most gifted and cultured of the ante-Nicene theologians, but also the most voluminous writer of his own or any other age. By his culture and Christian tact he was successful in bringing many heathens and heretics to the Christian Church, among them a wealthy Gnostic, Ambrosius, who became his most liberal patron, furnishing him with a costly library. For twenty-five years he devoted

himself to the writing of criticisms and commentaries on the Bible—his chief passion was for the Scriptures. His Biblical works, critical, exegetical, and hortatory, were the most numerous. His commentaries cover almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments. These commentaries are very suggestive. His apologetics consist of eight books written against Celsus, who very ably attacked Christianity in the latter half of the second century. This apology is most valuable, as giving a clear conception of many points of interest in connection with the second century Church. While Origen maintained strange views on the relation of sin and man, and on several other doctrinal points, yet upon the whole his views were remarkably clear on the divinity of Christ, and the suitability of Christ's work to the wants of sinful man. Considering the spirit of the time and his advantages, Origen was far in advance of his age. He was a man of pure motives and a pure life, of great self-denial, of a humble and forgiving spirit, and one whose teaching and writings moulded to no small extent the spirit of his age, and guided very specially the Eastern Church.

"It is impossible," says Schaff (vol. ii., p. 799), "to deny a respectful sympathy, veneration, and gratitude to this extraordinary man, who with all his brilliant talents and a host of enthusiastic friends and admirers, was driven from his country, stripped of his sacred office, excommunicated from a part of the Church; then thrown into a dungeon, loaded with chains, racked with torture, doomed to drag his aged frame and dislocated limbs in pain and poverty, and long after his death to have his memory branded, his name anathematised, and his salvation denied, but who, nevertheless, did more than all his enemies combined to advance the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert heathens and heretics, and to make the Church respected in the eyes of the world."

During the first part of the third century, there was

considerable rest from persecution, and the Church had some time and leisure to develop itself. Episcopacy, which was well grown towards the end of the second century, seemed to be now in full power. The gulf between people and teachers became wider. The very nature of Episcopacy is to exalt the clergy too high above the laity, and just as the Church had rest and time to grow rich and strong, she asserted her power over the people. At first a teacher might be engaged in secular business, but, as the work of the Church grew, the business of the teacher became more arduous, and, after the third century, the teachers and ministers were forbidden to engage in any secular business. Nothing is known of an official clerical costume till the fourth century.

When the Church was comparatively free from persecution, many became members, whose steadfastness could not be depended upon in the hour of trial. Clement of Alexandria, at the beginning of the third century, gives note of the two types—the mere professing Christian and the real Christian. He pictures the banqueting house, elegantly furnished: "There are crowds of guests, with dyed hair, garlands and perfumes, wearing strings of pearls and precious stones and chains of gold; they drink out of the richest cups. The pipe and the flute are heard at their feasts. In the streets are women with purple veils and gilt slippers. They are rebuked for their finery, but they reply, Why should we not use what God has given? Some of these profess to be Christians, but," he adds, "they change like the polypi on the rock. They are grave in church, but gay when they get out; having waited on God in worship, they haste to amuse themselves with the love ditty and the stage play."

But Clement describes the Christian according to his ideal: "He is plain in his habits, abstemious, eating fish rather than flesh, satisfied with one meal a day or at most two, and eating dry bread at breakfast without drinking.

His clothing is cheap, strong, but not fine. He wears a ring on his little finger with the device of a dove, a fish, a ship, a lyre, or an anchor, all emblems of holy things. His hair is thin, his beard thick; he never stains his hair, and never puts on a wig. He eschews garlands, flowers, and perfumes, as well as luxury in furniture, also musical instruments, and profane songs. But he wrestles, plays at balls, walks, digs, draws water, chips wood, dresses himself, puts on his own shoes, washes his own feet, in short is self helpful. He sleeps on a bed neither rich nor soft; he rises at night to pray; gets up early and reads. The Christian lady is moderate in all things; she does not use dyes or ointments, wears no flowers nor purple robes, nor embroidered slippers, nor gold chains. She performs domestic duties, spins, bakes, cooks, and makes the beds. She is particular in her actions, gestures, gait, looks, and tones. She avoids the appearance of evil."

The Church in Egypt and Palestine was known as the Eastern or Greek Church; the Church in Africa and Italy as the Western or Latin Church. Carthage was a famous ancient town whose history can be traced back to 800 B.C. The great event in the history of Carthage was its wars with Rome, commonly called the Punic wars. The site of ancient and new Carthage is now a well-known district in Algeria, a French colony in North Africa. In the third century it was a Roman province, like almost all the rest of the world. The town was beautifully situated and surrounded by magnificent gardens. To Africa and to Carthage the Gospel found its way in the second century, or at the close of the first, and made rapid progress. In 258, eighty-seven bishops were assembled in Carthage, and in 308 the dissenting sect, called the Donatists, assembled two hundred and twenty bishops in the same place.

The ruling spirit for a time in the African Church, and decidedly its greatest genius, was Tertullian. He was a

rare genius, original and fresh, but angular, boisterous, and eccentric. Schaff describes him as "full of gloomy fantasy, pointed wit, and keen discernment." In his terse, abrupt, and rugged style of writing, he was the Carlyle of his time and country. This remarkable man was the Father of the Latin theology, and one of the greatest men of Christian antiquity. Few writers have impressed their individuality so strongly in their books as this African Father. In this respect, as well as in other respects, he resembles St. Paul and Martin Luther. He was a contemporary of Origen, who did not prove a greater intellectual force in the Eastern Church than Tertullian did in the Western.

One of Tertullian's immediate successors frequently said to his secretary, as he sat in his study, "Hand me my master." The secretary knew well what he meant, and handed him some of the writings of Tertullian. This man was Cyprian. Till he was fifty years of age he lived as a heathen. He was of a noble family, was a teacher of rhetoric, or, as some think, an advocate. "As a young man, he was of a handsome appearance, dressed finely; he was clothed with purple and fine linen. He was covered with jewels, his hands sparkled with precious stones. A man of rank and fortune, he was surrounded by many flatterers." The Christians at Carthage admired the beauty of his genius, but deplored the depravity of his morals. "Oh," said they, "if that youth could be but brought into the Kingdom of Christ!" One of the elders, Cæcilius by name, ventured to speak to him. In course of conversation he said, "You live in vanity, and you are nothing but vanity yourself. You must be born again, for except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. He who made your heart first can also give you a new one which shall love Him." Cyprian believed, confessed Christ, and was baptised. This was in the year 246, when he was, as already said, fifty years of age. Cæcilius became his dearest friend; he took

him to live with him. When he was baptised, he called himself Cæcilius Cyprian. He sold his estate like Barnabas of old, and laid his fortune and life at the feet of Christ. He was soon made an elder or minister, and in the year following bishop of Carthage.

The Church had comparative rest for thirty years. Many joined it from amongst the heathen over all the Roman Empire. There was, at this time, less risk in being a Christian than formerly. It was easy, if not somewhat fashionable to be a Christian, hence the indifferent Christianity, the conformity to the world on the part of many Christians already described as existing in the Eastern Church in Alexandria. The same was the condition of things in Carthage, but the hour of trial was near, the time of persecution was already come. Decius, an energetic Roman Emperor, resolved to root out the Church, and in 250, four years after the conversion of Cyprian, issued an edict enjoining return to the pagan State religion, under the heaviest penalties. This was the signal for a persecution which, in extent, consistency, and cruelty, exceeded all former persecutions. It covered the whole empire. Multitudes, who were nominally Christians, yielded and sacrificed to the Roman gods.

In Carthage the proconsul sits on a platform in the public square, surrounded by his guards. Near him is a statue of some heathen god; a sacred fire burns before it, and grains of incense by its side. All that is necessary to save the Christian's life is to cast a few of these grains into the fire, but this means a denial of Christ. What a sight that is! Crowds come; many indifferently offer their incense; others tremblingly offer it, with the look of death on their face.

The worldliness and gaiety of Carthage killed all vital godliness. There were, however, some noble examples of resistance. A man and his wife refused to offer the incense; the wife was first put to death, then the husband, whose body

was covered over with stones and rubbish. Under cover of night came a girl, softly, and, with fear, searched the place of execution. It was the daughter of Numedicus, searching for the bodies of her parents. She discovered the body of her father still warm. She placed her hand upon his heart; it was still beating; the loving daughter carried him by a supernatural effort to her home. Numedicus lived, and afterwards became an elder in the Church at Carthage. The sifting of this persecution was general, multitudes yielded, but more stood firm, amongst whom were the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Cyprian fled to a place of concealment. His act was one of prudence rather than of cowardice, but his enemies made a handle of it. For five months, Cyprian remained in his retreat, during which time he was most active. He wrote many letters to his people, which indicate that he was in a state of mental comfort himself, and anxious to give comfort to others. When a number of Christians were imprisoned in Numidia, he collected eight hundred pounds for their ransom. Cyprian was bishop only about ten years. When on a plain near Carthage he received his sentence of death, he said, "God be thanked." "Then, attended by a vast multitude to the scaffold, he prayed, disrobed himself, covered his eyes, and requested a presbyter to bind his hands and pay the executioner 25 pieces of gold. He was beheaded on the 16th September, 258. His faithful friends gathered his blood in handkerchiefs, and buried the body of their sainted pastor with great solemnity."

As Origen was the ablest scholar, and Tertullian the strongest writer, so Cyprian was the greatest bishop of the third century. He was born to be a prince in the Church. Some of his brethren in Carthage, knowing his overbearing character, were opposed to his appointment as bishop. Cyprian dreaded schisms. His power, energy, and ingenuity were directed towards the unity of the Church—a good aim

in itself, but one that led him too far, and induced him to make the unity of the Church mean everything. The unity of the Church as the vehicle and medium of salvation was the thought of his life, and the passion of his heart. He was the great organiser of the Church in his day. He was the hand that was always engaged in adjusting its machinery. If Origen was the intellectual head, Cyprian was the energetic, untiring hand. With him, Catholicism began to assume form and strength. If the wanderers were to be restored, they could be restored only through the Church. If the word was to prove effective in its preaching, that could only be through the Church. If salvation was to be had, it must be had through the same channel. "All," he says, "are adversaries of the Lord, and anti-Christ, who are found to have departed from the charity and unity of the Catholic Church. The house of the Lord is one, and there cannot be salvation for any except in the Church." In our Creed, it is said, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church." By this the Protestants mean the visible Church of God, composed of all believers—catholic, because found wherever the Gospel is believed, holy, because purified by God's Spirit. But Cyprian and his party meant by the Church, the external organisation, the outward visible Church. Outside of this external Church, governed by bishops who are the successors of the Apostles, no one can be saved. In a tree there are many branches, but there is only one source of strength, one sap proceeding from the root. Break off one of the branches; separated it cannot grow. It is the same in the Church. This was but one of the points in the Catholicism of Cyprian. There was further the displacing of the Scriptures by human tradition. The sayings of the Church and the Fathers were as important as the sayings of the Scriptures. To this was added the sacramental efficacy. The symbols of the Sacrament began to assume a most important place. Men were regenerated by the water of

baptism; the bread was consecrated to be the very body of Christ, and a living Christianity was thus followed by superstitious mediævalism.

We have the Gospel in the first century; Catholicism we find started in the second, and organised in the third; we come to Popery in the seventh century; in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century, it has its greatest power. The outward organisation became a vast machinery in the Church, but it was like a cistern without water. The real life of the Church was decreasing, as this great power of the Church was increasing. And it did increase for a period of forty years of quiet rest from persecution, which brings one to the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth. As office-bearers cared not to do their real spiritual work, they got substitutes to visit the sick. The deacons were too proud to stand at the church door, so sub-deacons were created. The bishops had their deans and curates, and the curates had their readers. Form became everything. The true life of the Church was at a discount. From this formalism there was a reaction, as there was bound to be—a reaction that created the Donatists, Novatians, and various dissenting bodies.

CHAPTER IV.

The Church of the Second Half of the Third Century.

The second half of the third century was the most peaceful and externally the most prosperous era of Christianity for two hundred years. Of this period of restfulness the Church did not fail to take advantage to spread her net-work of influence throughout the length and breadth of the empire, from Jerusalem to Rome, from Antioch to Alexandria, from Spain to Gaul, from Gaul to Britain. The offices, the shops, the army, and the navy, were manned with Christians, who, by their steadiness, sobriety, and fidelity to duty, won the esteem of their superiors, and were occasionally the means of their conversion.

In the royal palace at the Court of the Emperor Diocletian the Christian faith was acknowledged, and loved by not a few occupying the highest positions. Even the wife and daughter of the Emperor were said to favour it. The Christians increased in number and influence. Churches, many and in some cases magnificent, were built throughout the whole empire, and, although without legal standing, and without even legal toleration, yet Christianity was beginning to be regarded by friend and foe as having outlived its difficulties, and likely to enjoy a more peaceful future.

But the fair hopes of the young Church were cruelly disappointed and her bright prospects sadly beclouded when, in the year 303, four edicts were issued in rapid succession—each more severe than its predecessor—against the Christians. All churches were to be destroyed, all religious books were

to be burned, all Christians were to be deprived of public offices and civil rights, and all without exception were to offer sacrifice to the national gods, under pain of death. This is supposed to have been done at the instigation of Galerius, the Emperor's son-in-law, a zealous pagan, the leader of a strong faction amongst the heathen, who, through the fear of the growing influence of Christianity, put forth a life and death effort to destroy it, and to revive and save the religion of the State which was too evidently decaying and dying.

Thus the last of the imperial persecutions was the most general and most destructive, aiming, as it did, at the burning of all Christian religious literature. This was a blow at the root, the very life of the tree. Former blows were at the branches, which were lopped off, and at the trunk, which was more than once cut bare and low, but it grew again, regained its strength and proportions, and with its branches filled the land. The policy of the destroyer was wiser and much more far reaching this time. It was to remove present and future effects by removing the cause. An historian of the times (Eusebius) tells how he saw with his own eyes, the houses of prayer razed to the ground, the holy Scriptures committed to the flames in the market places, the pastors hunted and torn to pieces in the Amphitheatre, while, in the midst of these scenes of outrage and blood, the Christians sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving in honour of Almighty God, even to their latest breath.

For eight long years did this persecution last, years that witnessed to the death of thousands at the stake and in the Amphitheatre, that witnessed whole villages burnt and towns made desolate, years in which multitudes endured living death in the cold, foul cells, or dragged wearied lives as slaves in the imperial mines, and yet the Church lived and flourished. This is the picture presented by the Christian Church at the beginning of the fourth century.

How dark and dismal it is! What terrible gloom after the sunshine of fifty years' comparative peace and prosperity! What an outlook for the future!

From this picture, so distressing and discouraging, we turn to another, a better and fairer, and one that forms a very striking contrast. On the shores of Lake Ascaria, about twenty miles inland from the Sea of Marmara, a wretched village, mocked by splendid ancient, double walls, marks the site of Nicæa or Nice, which was once a celebrated Asiatic city. It was founded by Antigonus the Great about 320 B.C. In the year 325 A.D., this same city was the scene of remarkable activity. The streets of Edinburgh during the time of the Church Assemblies, are not more animated by the presence of Church dignitaries than were the streets of Nice in that year. No fewer than 308 bishops, each attended by three slaves and two presbyters, were gathered within its walls. Where did they all come from? From all parts of the world—from France, Spain, Italy, Africa, Asia Minor, and even from Britain. Their journeys were long, but secure. No dread of the persecutor's hand disturbed those wayfarers, nor did imperial persecuting edicts impede their progress. So far from this being the case, all along the Roman roads, which were excellent in those days, the government posts were at their disposal. "There were relays of horses at 200 stations. The fame of the Assembly having spread far and wide, ample provisions were accumulated along the line of route, and the remote city of Nice itself, when reached, presented the appearance of one large fair."

There was a royal residence at Nice, and its central hall was the largest in the town. Here the bishops and presbyters met. It was a strange assembly. Many of those present were bearing on their bodies "the marks of the Lord Jesus." The effects of suffering in persecution were clearly seen. "Some sat twisted, their bones having been

broken or ill set after torture; others were stiff, their sides having been seared; others showed great scars on their backs and walked lame, their legs and sinews having been hacked or burnt." There were strange stories about those men. "There was Paphmentius, from upper Thebais: one of his eyes had been dug out with a sword's point, the empty socket seared, and his legs ham-strung. There also was Spyridion, from the mountains and sheep walks of Cyprus, a man of primitive habits. He could hardly be persuaded that to ride a mule was befitting the dignity of a bishop, and declared he would come all the way on foot. In his native Cyprus, Spyridion had a flock of sheep. One night, thieves came to steal them, but were detained miraculously till Spyridion caught them next morning. He not only let them go, but he gave them each a groat in order that they might not have had to sit up all night for nothing."

But, if the deformity of so many of its members gave a strange appearance to the assembly, still more strange was it to see, presiding over that gathering, the very Emperor of Rome himself, in the person of Constantine the Great, a man of handsome and noble bearing. Surely here was a marvellous change from the dark days of twelve years before, when these very churchmen were tortured by order of the government whose representative now presided over them.

British subjects should have a special interest in Constantine, the first Christian Emperor. He was born in Britain, it is alleged, and crowned at York. His mother, Helen, left her name and memory at St. Helens. The old London wall dates back to Constantine. He has given his name to lakes, rivers, figures of allegory, and to countless women. There is no one to whom, in some ways, the Christian Church owes a deeper debt of gratitude than to Constantine the Great. He was her great deliverer from slavery and death. Strange to say, he was for some time brought up, like Moses, in the court of the enemy, Diocletian,

and was compelled to spend a considerable time as hostage in the hands of Galerius, her last and most cruel persecutor. His father, Constantine Chlorus, though a heathen, favoured the Christians, and when the last edicts of persecution were issued and sent to him, then Governor of Gaul and Britain, he refused to put them into force. His mother, Helen, is believed to have been a Christian, and to have had much to do in forming and fostering his character.

Constantine was in Britain when his father lay dying. He had fled from the court of Galerius for his life, and his father leaped from his bed when he saw him, saying, "I will now die in peace."

At the age of thirty-two, in 306, Constantine was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers. The vast dominions of the Roman Empire were, at the time, the prey of ambitious usurpers. At the elevation of Constantine, the Roman world found itself with six administrators. Some of them died, others were put to death, and within twenty years Constantine was sole Emperor. It was while marching against one of his rivals, Maxentius, Governor of Italy, that Constantine decided publicly for Christianity. In the campaign near Verona, he saw in the sky (Eusebius says he declared it to him) a burning cross, with the inscription in Greek written upon it, "By this symbol, conquer," and the night before the battle he dreamt that he was commanded by an angel to inscribe the sacred monogram of Christ upon his soldiers' shields. This was the origin of the famous Labarum. It was a long pike surmounted by a crown of gold, enclosing a monogram of the first two letters of Christ's name, with a silken embroidered banner hanging from it, bearing the figures of the great Emperor and his family. This standard was borne before the army. Around its history, as might be expected, many legends gathered. On one occasion its bearer, in the heat of battle, fled for fear, another took up the Labarum and marched into the centre of the fight. The

man that fled for safety lost his life, while that of the brave man, who had faith in the standard, was preserved.

The vision of the fiery cross produced a profound impression upon Constantine, and decided him, as he alleged, to espouse the cause of Christianity. True, in the previous year, an edict of toleration had been issued by the fierce Galerius, but Constantine issued edicts not only tolerating but legalising Christianity within the Empire, and acknowledging it as the religion of the realm. How far Constantine was actuated by political motives is another and different question. That he was shrewd enough to see how indispensable it was to protect Christianity in order to promote the unity and consolidate the strength of the Empire, there can be no doubt, and this perhaps was the reason why he was found presiding over the great assembly of bishops at Nice.

Constantine was a great statesman. He recognised the importance of Christianity and the wisdom of preserving unity in the Christian camp. This was much needed at the time. There was a burning question at Alexandria; and not only the clerics but also the laity were in the heat of the contest. The tradesmen were as much interested in the debates and discussions as the ministers. The discussions turned upon the relation of the Father to the Son in the Godhead. The controversy gathered round the word "substance." That word is found in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, in the answer to the question, "How many persons are in the Godhead?—There are three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one God, the same in *substance,* equal in power and glory."

The one party said the Son was begotten by the Father. The other party maintained He was subordinate, and not equal to the Father. One writer states that when one went to ask the price of bread, the baker seemed quite off his head, and would answer "The Son arose out of nothing," or when

one enquired if his bath was ready, the bewildered slave would observe, "The Son was subordinate to the Father." The mobs went about the streets, shouting each their party cry, and breaking one another's heads.

It is no wonder the Emperor felt the necessity of reducing chaos to order, and of restoring unanimity and peace to the Church. No wonder though he said, "To me far worse than any other war or battle is the civil war of the Church; do not delay, my friends, to remove all grounds of difference, and to wind up by laws of peace every link of controversy."

The Emperor was overwhelmed with petitions, in which the various parties embodied complaints against each other. Before the debate began, he called for a brazier with burning coals, and took the parchment rolls and cast them into it, and as the flames rose and the ashes smouldered, he solemnly declared that he had not read one of them, adding, "It is the command of Christ, that he who desires to be forgiven, must first himself forgive his brother."

In the Assembly, there were two great leaders of the controversy that rent the Church. The author of the heresy Arianism, that bore his name (which heresy would make Christ separate from the Father, and thus lead one to have thoughts about two Gods instead of one) "was a weird, gaunt figure in a long coat with short sleeves, his hair hung loose and straggling about his shoulders. He was deadly pale, and about sixty years of age; his appearance and posture denoted extreme but suppressed excitability." For long he would remain silent, then break forth in bursts of wild excitement. His words flowed in a torrent of eloquence. Although a stern, ascetic, and a strange looking man, he was the idol, it is said, of seven hundred great ladies of Alexandria, and for this moon-struck giant they were prepared to go through fire and flood. That was Arius, whose controversy began by his daring to differ from his bishop, Alexander.

There stood by the same bishop in that hall a small, insignificant looking man, a deacon about twenty-five years of age, "his face finely cut, his nose aquiline, his hair light, his beard short." When a boy at Alexandria, Alexander had seen him playing at Baptism with his companions by the seashore. He found him very intelligent; he promoted his interest, made him a deacon, and eventually he was succeeded by him in the bishop's chair. This was the famous Athanasius, the pillar of Orthodoxy, the framer of the Nicæan doctrine, the idol of the Fathers, throughout the Lybian desert. Athanasius led the majority. Arius and his followers were driven from the Council by order of the Emperor.

After a chequered life of thirteen years of success and failure, now in favour with the ruling power, now in disfavour, Arius died just at the time when he was about to be restored into the fellowship of the Church at Constantinople. He was a man of great learning, and the purity of his character was never assailed, even by his fiercest opponents. Had Arianism triumphed, there would, in all probability, have been no Mohammedism, but there would be no true Christianity either. The Trinitarian doctrine owes most to the able expositions and pleadings of Athanasius. As a testimony to the Nicæan doctrine of the Trinity, we have the oft repeated words, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost."

By this Council at Nice, the Emperor so far quieted the Church's trouble, at least for a season, but his own life was neither quiet nor peaceful. Worthy as the actions of Constantine were, in many respects it is very much to be deplored that his character was foully stained by the murder of a wife and son. It is not without reason that this blot has been cast as a reflection upon Christianity. Whether the reason was political or for treason on the part of the son, and unfaithfulness on the part of the wife, that does not

wipe off the stain, nor yet does the spirit of the age palliate the guilt.

Rome became too hot and too disagreeable for him, and, to revenge himself upon the inhabitants that insulted him, he resolved to set up a rival city. This was the origin of Constantinople, the present capital of the Turks. It was founded by Constantine (hence its name, Constantinople) in 324. He enriched it with treasures of art taken from all parts of the Roman world, and soon made it to rival Rome.

The change of the seat of royalty to the east meant the decline of Rome as an imperial city, and its rise as an ecclesiastical one. The Emperor departed, the senate was lifeless, paganism effete, and the only moral force left alive was Christianity. Yet Constantinople, not Rome, was the first Christian city. Its boundaries were marked by the Emperor in person, leading his guard of honour, carrying a golden spear in his hand. When after a long time he was asked when he meant to stop, his reply was, "When He who leads me stops"—an utterance that was probably full of policy or superstition, and one that deeply influenced both Christians and heathens. Many of his utterances were so framed as to suit alike the heathen and the Christian religion.

In a very short time, the stream of commerce and the tide of wealth and fashion began to set steadily towards the Dardanelles. A city of shrines and palaces rose along the shining Bosphorus.

In the year 337, Constantine lay on his deathbed. He had never been baptised. How this was it is difficult to say, whether he refrained on the ground of felt superiority or on the ground of indifference, or, as some think, in order that he might be more at liberty to sin, and that by this last act all his sins would be forgiven, is a matter of opinion. That he found comfort and satisfaction in the religion of Christianity cannot be gainsaid.

When lashed by the scorpion scourge of his own conscience for the murder of his wife and son, it is said that he consulted the heathen priests, and that they told him there was no forgiveness for such sins, but that on consulting a Christian minister he was assured that there was forgiveness for the greatest sinner if he repented. His faith in that forgiveness may have stood him in good stead on his death bed.

One of his biographers writes of his deathbed: "In the 64th year of his age, and the 31st of his reign, the great Christian Emperor of the East and West lay on his death bed. Robed in white, he received his baptism; robed in white he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his court, to be finally pardoned and purified, and robed in saintly white, the grateful Christian Church has ever since beheld in him her secular founder and her imperial apostle."

That Constantine should become the secular founder of the Christian Church was certainly an unexpected event. The union between Church and State was an equally unexpected consummation, and yet it was a consummation to which some tendencies of the age pointed. That the union should have been consummated as it was by the policy of Constantine is not altogether to be wondered at. There was no contract settlement in this union; the advance was made rather from the State than from the Church, although the Church was apparently not difficult to woo. The wooing was principally and practically on the Emperor's side, and may be characterised as patronising and political. Doubtless Constantine publicly professed Christianity, and with all his faults—faults grievous and great, but less faults in view of the character of the age—he was much influenced by the Christian faith. Superstitions gathered round that Christian religion which the fiery cross of Verona stamped so deeply upon his mind, but with all that he stretched out a friendly hand towards the Christians. He wished to be regarded as the protector of the Church. But while he was

respectful towards the Church, and invariably subject to her bishops or ministers, yet he often made them feel that he was above them all, as he himself once said, partly in jest, partly in earnest, "He was bishop *in externis*." He treated the Church patronisingly, made her feel her obligation to him by securing her freedom from persecutions and a recognition as the religion of the State and of the world.

There can be no doubt that Constantine was actuated by political motives in promoting the union between State and Church. He was far-seeing enough to recognise the benefit that such a union would be to the State. The Christians were having within the Empire a habitation and a name. They were occupying some of the most important offices in the State, and these they occupied with much credit. The Christians were the strongest and most vigorous force under the Government. They were, doubtless, numerically in the minority, but the minority were not only superior in mind and morals, but led forward the majority. Constantine saw this, utilised the powerful energy of the Christian Church, and turned it to his own advantage. He knew that the Church would prove as great a benefit to him as he would to it. It is said that orders were once issued that all the servants in the palace—they all professed to be Christians—who would not sacrifice to the heathen gods would be dismissed. Not a few, indeed most of them did so sacrifice, for they feared dismissal. There were, however, some who were prepared to lose their situations rather than abandon their faith. These the Emperor kept in his service, deeming them the most excellent, but he dismissed the betrayers of their religion.

What results were reaped from this union between Church and State? The results were twofold. They were beneficial and they were baneful. They were beneficial in many ways. Here was a religion that was hunted down by persecution for well nigh three hundred years. It was ignored by the

State. It was abused, insulted, and crushed by the heathen. It lived on sufferance. Constantine, however, raised it to a position of being acknowledged as the religion of the world. He did much to strengthen the Christians in many respects. He built and endowed many churches; he enabled the Christians to leave their money by legal deed for whomsoever they chose. Formerly they had no legal right of property, and could make no legal wills. This disability was removed by Constantine, and its removal was a source of great revenue to the Church, for many of the pious left their means for its maintenance. He had prayers in his palace; he ordered prayers to be said by his army, but of such a kind that they would suit the heathen as well as the Christians. Such regard had he for prayer, that he had his image stamped, in the attitude of prayer, upon the coins of the Empire. At the same time, he forbade any semblance of himself being put in the idol's temple. He legalised the Sabbath Day as a day of rest, to be kept free from work except agricultural labour, for he had no conception of the full binding claims of the fourth commandment. Not unfrequently he gathered great assemblies in his palace, and preached a long sermon on the claims of the Christian faith. "You may believe about him," says Fleming, "what Eusebius, his friend says in his blame, and what Zosimus, his enemy, says in his praise —and it is impossible not to say much in his praise—he found a divided and distracted Empire and Church; he left them both united and substantially peaceful. He issued great edicts—the edicts of toleration, the observance of the Sabbath, and prayers for the army. He discouraged slavery, infanticide, gladiatorial games, and the licentious rites of heathenism." In these and other respects the union formed between Church and State was beneficial. But one need have no hesitation in saying that it was productive of most baneful results.

The sects of the Church resembled political parties

competing for the favour of the Government. At one time one sect was in favour, and at another time another. This comes out clearly in the case of the Arian controversy. At one time Arius had the ear and protection of the Government, at another time Athanasius. The one in disfavour was punished and banished. The Church ceased to exercise its own discipline, and it called upon the State to do so. Here we have the high road to State interference with the liberty of conscience. An example is provided in the case of Athanasius. Constantine recommended him to receive Arius into the Church. This Athanasius refused to do; it was against his conscience. Constantine commanded him. The command Athanasius spurned, and declared that no Emperor would lord it over his conscience. This was the first testimony for conscience' sake against the tyranny of a professedly Christian government, and it was a noble one, which set the example of many a noble stand against the misdirected power of the State.

One of the laws that Constantine passed in favour of the Church was that its clergy should be free from military service, and that they should have complete freedom from taxation on property. This opened the door for two classes to find their way into the ministry of the Church—cowards and misers—two classes that could only have a baneful effect upon its spiritual life. The miser who had property and wanted to be free from taxation entered the Church to escape the disagreeable burden. In this way many men of property found entrance to the Church, not for love of its service, but for love of money, and so were neither strength nor ornament to it. The imperial laws in this way produced evil results to the Church, and also to the State. A large amount of taxation was lost, and so the Government resolved to make another law, more profitable to itself but less so to the Church. This law was to the effect that no one having property should be allowed to enter the Church She

was to fill up her ranks from among the poor. This was not always possible, nor was it successful in securing the best talent in all cases, and so the State made a further alteration—that those who had property would require to assign it to others before entering the ministry. It will be seen from these facts how the State was tightening its grip upon the liberties of the Church, and was helping to render her less spiritual, less pure, and less powerful. The beneficial effects of the State union were more than counterbalanced by its baneful effects, even during the infancy of that union. Why, then, was such a union consummated? Would it not have been better had it not been formed? Yes, much better. It was not because its spiritual tone was raised that this union took place, but rather for the opposite reason. "It is to our mind quite clear," says Dr. Matheson, "that the union of Christianity with the Roman State was accomplished in part by the fall of Christianity from its primitive purity. We think it just as impossible that the Church of Paul, or the Church of John, could have entered into union with Rome, as we think that the Empire of Augustus, or the Empire of Tiberius, could have entered into union with Christianity."

If the Church had maintained her independence of the State, she would have fared much better. There were within her the very elements that would give her power and success. The very elements that drew towards her the eye and favour of Constantine were the elements that should enable her to do without the fawning favour of imperial power.

The Roman State for nearly three hundred years tried to kill the Church, and, having failed to accomplish this, it not only permitted it to live, but it turned its smile upon it and complacently said, Live, and live for me, and after my wish! This clearly comes out in the final attitude of Galerius, the last persecuting Emperor. He publicly declared that he meant to extinguish Christianity. He did

his best to secure this end, but failed, miserably failed. True, multitudes were burned and slain, but from their ashes and bleached bones there sprung up a mighty army. Galerius saw the result, and, with trembling and dying hand, he wrote a new edict, granting toleration to Christianity, and asking at the same time that the Christian Church should pray for him and his house. The conviction was forced upon the heathen that Christianity must live and conquer. Its past history was an index of what its future was destined to be. Its Founder declared its drawing power a power that neither the troubles of life nor the trials of death could withstand. The destiny of Christianity was to rule the world, not by force, but by influence; not by action from without, but by suasion from within; not by compelling the hands, but by purifying the heart. It was to act upon the world, by bringing its own motives into competition with the world's motives, and by demonstrating even to natural reason that it was fitted to secure a higher and more lasting good. But perhaps this very destiny needed a knowledge of the world by experience. Although the Church might have preserved her independence while, at the same time, she acknowledged, welcomed, and received the support of the State, yet she may, in the wise providence of God, have been permitted to enter into such alliance that she might, through experience, become wiser and better, that all the struggles and difficulties of centuries might form links in the great chain of development, links passing, indeed, underground, and through darkness, yet connecting the bright Apostolic past, a past of self-government and independence, a past of fearlessness and of freedom, with a still brighter future, when all living Christian Churches shall be united (animosities and difficulties having been laid aside for ever) on the basis of common love and common freedom—freedom of conscience, freedom of action, freedom inspired by the truth of the living God, "for whom the truth makes free, they are free indeed."

CHAPTER V.

Church and State.

The very momentous event of the Union of the Church and State took place in the year 311 A.D., by the issue of an Edict of Toleration. This edict was ratified two years later by another at Milan, in which the sacred rights of conscience were alleged as among the motives of union. In that acknowledgment there lay implicit doctrine which had to wait many centuries for a practical realization.

Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, who promoted and established this union, died in 337 A.D., twenty-six years later, having had abundant opportunities to see and judge of its good and evil results.

During the century after the death of Constantine down to the fall of the Western Empire, Christianity was more or less fostered by the various Emperors, save Julian, known as the Apostate. He was so called because, having been educated as a Christian and destined as such for the throne, he concealed his purposes till he assumed the reins of government. Then he declared in favour of heathenism, and for ten years he both wrote and acted against Christianity in a most vehement manner. Happily, Julian shed no blood in persecution. His aim was to weaken the Christian faith both by strengthening heathenism, which he most enthusiastically tried to do, and by introducing and encouraging division and dissent amongst the Christians. "Construction" was his policy towards paganism, "disintegration" towards Christianity.

From Constantine's time to the fall of the Western Empire, comprising about a hundred years, is a unique period in the history of the Church. It is this period, though it extends beyond the fourth century, that shall now be reviewed. This can be done only in a very general way, but if it is done in a way that will leave some impression upon the mind of the reader, and give some well founded conception of the character of Christianity during that epoch, the end aimed at will be so far served. To aid the memory, it is well to fasten one's thoughts upon the following three aspects:—

1. The Church's relation to the State.
2. The Monasticism of the Church.
3. The Theology of the Church.

Around these three points or centres will be gathered all that can be said of this period of the fourth century, within the small compass intended.

1. By this time, and during this period, Christianity, independent of State help, found its way to almost all parts of the world, to India, Arabia, France, Spain, Germany—it indeed covered Europe, Asia, and Africa. During this very period, Ninian, Palladius, and Patrick, whose names were well known and revered in the British Isles, were faithful and successful missionaries both in Scotland and Ireland. Ten years after the death of Constantine, at the Council of Arles, London, York, and Lincoln were represented. Whatever might be said at this time of the quality of Christianity, its quantity certainly bulked largely throughout all lands.

In places outside the Roman Empire there was no contact with the State, and even in places once under Roman sway, such as parts of Scotland, it would appear that Roman power showed no interference. The missionaries of the British Isles had their Church government, not from Rome with its pageantry of bishops, priests, and endless variety of officials, but from Apostolic sources of presbyter and deacon.

The Scottish Church of the Culdees had its origin in the very earliest Christian times. Just as the Scottish Reformation lighted its torch at the fire of the Waldensian Church, which, tradition says, got its kindling embers from Apostolic fire, so it may be supposed possible that the early Scottish Church is traceable to the same source. The great bulk, however, of the Christian Church was connected with and under the influence of the Roman civil power, and thus united, the Church and the State acted and re-acted upon each other.

That there were apparent advantages arising from this union can scarcely be denied—advantages that might be expected from the nature of things. The following were some supposed advantages. When men were suddenly called to arms for purposes of defence, the ministers and office-bearers were allowed to prosecute their holy vocation; they were exempt from military service; court favour shone upon them. Out of the imperial treasury gorgeous churches were erected and endowed. The churches that were confiscated in former persecutions were now restored, and added to them were many magnificent heathen temples. Wealth began to flow into the treasury of the Church from the property of condemned heathens and heretics. Hitherto, no one could legally leave his wealth for the Church; private wills were not valid where the Christian Church was beneficiary; but now a law was passed legalising such wills, a law, the result of which, very soon filled the treasury, and extended the landed property of the Church. The wealth of the Church was largely converted into real estate, and, as Jerome tells, "she soon came to own the tenth part of all landed property."

The voluntary system of supporting the clergy as it existed before the union of the Church and State gave place to State aid for their support. The clergy received a fixed income from the Church funds, and from imperial and municipal treasuries. While this improved the external condition of

many of them, raised them above oppressive and distracting cares, and enabled them to devote their whole strength to the duties of their office, it at the same time had the baneful effects of fostering ease and luxury, of attracting a host of unworthy persons into the service of the Church, and of checking the exercise of free giving among the people. It is worthy of notice that the two greatest Church Fathers, Chrysostom and Augustine, gave the preference in principle to the voluntary system, in the support of the Church and the ministry. To his hearers in Antioch, Chrysostom said, "The treasure of the Church should be with you all." Augustine desired that his people should take back the Church property, and support the clergy and the poor by free gifts.

The State set a fence around the Sabbath day. It prevented the sitting of courts, and all secular labour on that day, and also prohibited all military exercise. It passed laws that raised the status of women, that gave them power over their property and over their houses. It gave marriage its due freedom, and introduced the Old Testament prohibition of marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity. The State gave power to the Church to give refuge in the churches to the oppressed, to all that should flee to them as of old to the cities of refuge, until their case was examined. And to the clergy was granted the power of interceding for those who thus fled, a privilege which many of them would care for but little.

Power and privilege have a mighty drawing influence, and it is not to be wondered at, that the Christian Church should have multitudes flocking within her pale. Make anything popular, and you will soon draw a crowd. The popularity of Christianity drew the crowd from amongst the heathen. They joined it, they became professed Christians. They knew not why, and this leads one to refer to the disadvantage of State connection.

Two great evils, amongst many others, were consequent upon this union, which was perhaps too hastily formed. The first was a very strong corrupting influence. The Court was a professed Christian Court, and was looked up to for guidance, and was followed in spiritual things. The extravagance of the Court was recognised in the Church as quite legitimate. "The Court of Constantine was proverbial for its extravagance in servants, embracing no less than a thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, and so many eunuchs that they could be compared only with the insects of a summer day." When the Emperor was seen in public, he was surrounded by a vast multitude of attendants of the higher ranks, "their horses glittering with golden ornaments, and their riders with golden shields and golden lances." When Julian, the Apostate, the last of the house of Constantine, became Emperor, he discouraged this extravagance, his desire and aim being to show to disadvantage, as indeed he might well do, the Christian faith of his predecessors.

Into the Church so closely connected with the Court much extravagance of a similar kind was gradually introduced. The dignitaries of the ecclesiastical world vied with those of the sovereign. The people followed suit. The heathen in multitudes adopted Christianity just because it was the religion of the State, and being accustomed to a grand and gorgeous ritual and liturgy, they wished to hold by the same in some form in their new condition. They found the door of the Church wide enough to admit them with all, or at least with a very considerable amount of their heathen rites and superstitions.

Two rivers on the continent of Europe flow at a certain point close to one another. The one is a clear, limpid stream, the other is dull, impure, and muddy. The clear stream does not purify its neighbour, but through its confluence becomes coloured, dark, and muddy. While heathenism and

Christianity remained distinct in this world they retained their respective characters, but when, through State connection, they became identified, heathenism influenced Christianity more than Christianity heathenism, and so the Church became gradually impure, weak, and demoralised.

The second evil that the Church suffered from through this union was oppression. At first, be it frankly acknowledged, Constantine disowned having any power to interfere with Church decisions. The bishop's decision was by him regarded as final, but gradually he forsook that position, and claimed the right of being supreme. According to custom in ancient Rome, the Emperor was Pontifex Maximus, or the real high priest of the Church, and when he became Christian, there was a temptation to maintain the same power, to which temptation he and his successors unhappily yielded, and so we find the imperial power having a very prominent influence in all the decisions of the Church.

When heresies broke out, as they frequently and violently did, and the Church was divided into sections, the State authority was eagerly sought after by each section. Thus, the section which failed to secure the royal favour was suppressed, and often banished the land. At one time Arians were outlawed, at another time Nicæans, just as the Emperor's whims turned, or as one Emperor agreed with or differed from his predecessor. This appeal to imperial power was constantly fanning the flame of divisions, and even multiplying them.

When the section of the Church in favour for the time wished to enforce their view upon their brethren in the minority or even in the majority, the imperial power was invoked and granted, even to persecution and bloodshed. Thus the State at one time encroached upon the liberties of the Church, at another time the majority or the minority of the Church, as the case might be, appealed to and secured the imperial power for purposes of oppression. As might

well be expected, this gave rise to intense dissatisfaction on the part of many, among whom was a sect called the Donatists, so called from the name of their brilliant leader. The Donatists were a large body who seceded from the Church in the beginning of the fourth century, on the ground of the Church's impurity, as they maintained. They gradually increased till in Africa they numbered four hundred bishops. Their dioceses must have been very small; they should rather be called ministers. Those Donatists were the first to ask the question, What has the Emperor to do with the Church? This question they were taught to put by the oppression they suffered. They denied the right of the State to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. In some of the views of this sect, one can discover the germ of the Protestant faith, and of the noble and patriotic spirit that for centuries strove for and finally secured liberty of conscience in this and other lands.

2. The history of Monasticism is a long one, and may be regarded as almost unbroken from the fourth century to the present. In the sixteenth century, Monasticism was very seriously affected by the Reformation, and, in the eighteenth century, by the French Revolution and the prevailing scepticism. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a great revival in France of the monastic spirit, while later on there was a reaction amongst monastic bodies, both in France and in the Italian and Spanish Peninsulas. A system of such long existence and so widely spread can scarcely be said to be entirely void of good, and to have served no purpose at any stage of its history. It may reasonably be supposed that it has its lights as well as its shades, but perhaps any good purpose it has served has been in its earlier rather than its later stage.

From the impurity of the Christianity of the fourth century there was a recoil. The gaiety, the fashion, the thirst for show and pleasure in the Christian Church were felt to be too much for many earnest Christian minds, and

so many retired into solitude for meditation and communion with God. The action of those stood as a warning against the worldliness and immorality of the great cities, and as a mighty call to repentance and conversion. Monasticism thus offered a quiet refuge to souls weary of the world, and led its earnest disciples into the sanctuary of undisturbed communion with God.

The Monasticism of the early ages placed the rich and the poor, the high and the low upon the same level. It showed kindness to the wayfarer, and liberality to the poor and the needy. As a source of education and discipline, it sent forth most of those missionaries, who, inured to all hardships, planted the standard of the cross among the barbarian tribes of Northern and Western Europe, and afterwards in Eastern Asia and South America. It gave the Church many of her best bishops and popes. It produced saints like Anthony and Bernard, and trained divines like John Chrysostom and Jerome, and the long succession of good men during the Middle Ages. Some of the best writings came from the cloisters of Monasticism, such as the tracts of Anselm, and the Summary of Thomas Aquinas, and the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis. Sacred hymns of the sweetest and best were composed by the monks of the cloisters. In the west, Monasticism promoted the cultivation of the soil and the education of the people, and produced valuable transcriptions of the Bible, of the works of the Church Fathers, and of the ancient classics. This is the best and the brightest side of Monasticism. Let us look also at its dark side.

Those Monastic devotees adopted many views of the truth. They imagined that real piety consisted in subjecting themselves to trial, and enduring self-imposed penance. This indeed was at the root of the whole movement. A quiet Christian youth at the village of Coma, on the borders of Thebais, diligently attended divine worship with his

parents. Gifted with a splendid memory, he retained all that he received, but, unfortunately, he made a too literal use of it. In his eighteenth year, through the death of his parents, the care of his sister devolved upon him. One day meditating over Christ's command to the young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go, and sell that thou hast and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me," he resolved to sell his estate, three hundred acres of fertile land. He divided it amongst the people of his village; he sold his personal property, and entrusted his sister to a society of pious virgins. He then betook himself to the desert, where he lived with the utmost rigour for thirty years. He lived in the ruins of a castle near the Red Sea, where an old cloister still preserves his name and memory. His food consisted of bread and salt, sometimes dates, his drink of water. This was St. Anthony, the founder of the Monastic system, and the originator of its extreme rigours. Anthony was much adored, and closely imitated by thousands. The Emperor himself wrote him a letter, and begged an answer from him, but the letter the hermit would not at first receive. When told that the Emperor was a Christian, he read it and dictated an answer, for he could not write. "Show that thou worshippest Christ, be not proud of thy earthly power, think of the future judgment, and know that Christ is the only true and eternal King; practice justice and love for men, and care for the poor." To his disciples he said, "Wonder not the Emperor writes to me, for he is a man; wonder much more that God has written the law for man, and has spoken to us by His own Son." Athanasius, who wrote his life, pays a high tribute to his memory. "His fame spread over the whole Roman Empire. What gave him his renown was not learning, not worldly wisdom, not human art, but alone his piety toward God." And yet this same Athanasius tells us without apology that this prodigy of his never changed his raiment nor washed

himself. Compared, however, with many of his followers and imitators, Anthony was a model Monastic. As in the case of many other movements, the propagators were much more extreme than the originators. Multitudes flocked to the desert solitudes to gain a reputation for piety, till thousands and tens of thousands became hermits of different degrees and kinds over Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Towards the end of the period now under consideration, a new type of hermits sprang up, called the Pillar Saints. Their piety was reckoned elevated and great in proportion as they denied themselves the semblance of the comforts of life, and tortured themselves in every conceivable way. St. Simeon, the Stylite, originally a shepherd in Africa, became famous by his invention of various kinds of torture as means of attaining holiness. He spent some time as a hermit upon a mountain, with an iron chain upon his feet; thousands came to see him. He started a new plan near Antioch. He lived for thirty-six years, until his death, upon a pillar which at the last was nearly forty cubits high (for the pillar was raised as he approached nearer heaven and perfection). On this pillar he could neither lie nor sit, but only stand or lean upon a post, or devoutly bow, in which last exercise he nearly touched his feet with his head, so flexible had his back become with fasting. A spectator one day counted 1,244 of these bows before the Almighty, and gave up counting. Simeon wore a covering of the skins of beasts and a chain about his neck. He lived to the age of sixty-nine, preached repentance twice a day to the crowds that gathered around the base of the pillar, and, as his historian Theodoret tells, converted thousands of heathen to the Christian faith. Tennyson makes him graphically describe his experiences:—

> "Although I be the basest of mankind,
> From scalp to sole one slough and crust of sin—
> Unfit for earth, unfit for heaven, scarce meet
> For troops of devils, mad with blasphemy;

> "I will not cease to grasp the hold
> Of saintdom, and to clamour, moan, and sob,
> Battering the gates of heaven with storm of prayer—
> Have mercy, Lord, and take my sin away."

No doubt this Monasticism nourished religious fanaticism. For the simple, divine way of the Gospel it substituted an arbitrary, eccentric, ostentatious, and pretentious sanctity. For Monasticism there is no foundation either in the teaching or in the life of Jesus and his Apostles. If the Christian Church followed the example of those extreme desert hermits, there would and could be no obedience to the Divine command, "Go ye unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." "This Monasticism superseded the all-sufficient merits of Christ by the glitter of the over-meritorious work of man. It measured virtue by the quantity of outward exercise instead of the quality of inward disposition, and disseminated self-righteousness and an anxious, legal, mechanical religion."

How very absurd do these Monastic extravagances look in the light of present day religion, and how equally absurd sound the praises lavished upon them by such men as Athanasius, Jerome, and even Augustine—men who ought to have known better, and did know better, but were doubtless curbed and narrowed by the influence of their Church and party. The history of the lives of the monks reflects no credit for sanctity on the Church of the Middle Ages. Monasticism has been indeed in the past and is still a source of corruption and degradation. The pretended houses of God may be in reality but dens of thieves.

3. During the fourth century, there were not a few outstanding writers and theologians such as Jerome, the scholar, Chrysostom, the preacher, Ambrose, the bishop, and Augustine, the theologian. No man during this period approached the last named in piety, humility, and devotion of spirit as well as in grandeur and

elevation of thought. "He stands like some great Alp, whose lower slope is entwined with homely dwellings and the voices of children, but whose summit pierces the clouds and strikes the sky in the solitary calm, where few can climb and breathe the rarer air." No man left such an impression upon his age and succeeding ages as he. When Rome and the Roman Empire were declining and decaying, the heathen blamed Christianity for it; it was this strange religion, they said, that made the eternal city conquerable. Against these delusions Augustine wrote *The City of God*, setting forth under this symbol the stability and permanency of the Church. His *Confessions* are remarkable. In them we see the inner life of the man, and we gather his views upon sin and grace. Although there is an interval of three hundred years between them, Augustine stands along with Paul upon the vital and evangelical doctrines of the exceeding sinfulness of sin and the infinite power of God's grace. The preaching of man's inability and dependence on God's grace has been most successful in kindling the hope of salvation within men. Bunyan, Spurgeon, Jonathan Edwards, Wesley, and Moody have been as rousing and as winning as Augustine.

The theology of Athanasius was doctrinal as touching the divinity of Christ, and exercised a marvellous influence over his own and future ages; but the period of the fourth century was one of various tendencies in theology, of differences of opinion and of teaching. The Donatists, to whom reference has already been made, so differed from the Catholic Church that did they enter and take possession of one of its ecclesiastical buildings, they would wash the floor, scrape down the walls, destroy the altar, and melt down the vessels of service before they would use it as a place of worship. Such narrow views but too truly justified the remark of Constantine to an over orthodox preacher, "Asemius, you had better secure a ladder and climb up to heaven by yourself."

Since Augustine stands head and shoulders above the theologians of the fourth century, a few details of his life may be mentioned. In the year 372, a young man of thirty-two years of age enters a garden in Milan. The sins of his youth, a youth spent in profligacy, weigh heavy upon him. He seems to hear a voice repeating the words, "Take up and read." He takes up his Bible lying by his side, and reads the words, "Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering or wantonness, not in strife and envy; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." These words were the means of this young man's conversion. The young man was Augustine. In his boyhood and youth, he was the great concern and the subject of the prayers of his mother, Monica. She was a most devoted mother. Her prodigal son was a heart-break to her. Being of great promise as a scholar, he prosecuted his studies in Carthage, where he lived the life of a very fast young man. From Carthage he went to Rome, and from Rome to Milan, where, under the preaching of Ambrose, he became convinced of his sins and was converted to God. After three years' quiet life in the Monastic cloister of Zagaste, one day he visited Hippo, a town in Numidia in Africa, with a view of conferring with some government official about joining the Monastic life, and was laid hold of by the people and made assistant bishop. In Hippo he lived the rest of his life. He died during the siege of the town by the Vandals, who swept down upon the country, carrying devastation in their train.

It is said of Augustine that at different periods of his life he was a pagan, a philosopher, a thorough-going sceptic, a debauchee, a believer, a rigorous ascetic, a Christian bishop, the most despotic of dogmatists, a friend of heretics, and their most ruthless adversary. "Augustine's importance to his Church is apparent in his writings, but shows most in his wonderful personality. His devout disposition, his intellect, the capability of his mental activities in arousing,

instructing, and edifying, make him not only to his own age but to all ages one of the greatest of our Church leaders. What was best in the theology of the fourth century, what linked it to the Apostolic age, what has come down to us as a rich legacy, and has left upon the present as well as on the past age of Protestantism, the most permanent and the best influence, that we find in Augustine and Augustinian theology."

CHAPTER VI.

Episcopacy and Papacy.

Most religious sects claim the sanction of Apostolic teaching, and are ambitious to trace their origin to Apostolic times. It was pointed out in a former chapter that Episcopacy was sub-Apostolic in its origin. It was a growth of the second rather than of the first century. The Papacy is of a much later date—about a hundred years after the last of the Apostles had died. The voice of the Church was not that of the people, but that of the bishops. The christianised parts of the world were ecclesiastically and spiritually ruled by bishops who claimed authority over their brethren of the lower Church order. It was felt to be somewhat necessary so as to suppress dissensions and root out heresies to concentrate the authority of a given district in one individual. While the affairs of one church or a number of churches in one district were thus superintended by the bishops, the affairs of the Church at large were concentrated in and decided upon by an Assembly of Bishops, all of whom were of equal standing in the Church. In the fifth century, the period under review, Church government presents a very different aspect. Towards the close of this century, we have one bishop claiming authority over all his brethren, one bishop claiming not only authority over all other bishops in spiritual things, but also authority over the temporal affairs of Christendom. This bishop claimed the dominion of fatherhood over this world and the next. This claim is the claim of the Papacy, and how it came to be made is the question now to be answered.

First look at what might be regarded as the germ of Papacy. During the time of Constantine, the clergy were no longer looked upon in their true spiritual light as ministers of Christ and of the Gospel, but rather, and chiefly, as mediators between God and man, as sacrificing priests appointed to discharge substantially the same duties under the Gospel as the Aaronic priests did under the Jewish dispensation. When once this idea was established, it was very easy to develop it in the person of one priest, and to concentrate in him the power of all the priests. This was done in the person of a pope, who was regarded as Christ's supreme vicar upon earth. The idea, which lies at the very foundation of the Papacy, had already gained some force when the Empire was declared Christian. Let us see how it grew.

We have its growth manifested first in the concentration of the power of many bishops in one. When from a certain town Christianity extended to the surrounding districts, that town was regarded as the headquarters whence missionaries were sent out, and the church of that town was regarded as their mother church, and the minister of that church as, in a measure, their superintendent; hence that town church was called the metropolitan or mother church, and its bishop, a metropolitan bishop, who exercised rule over all the others in his province. This arrangement is somewhat similar to a Presbyterian church with a number of mission stations under it, superintended by the minister and the session, with this difference, however, that those churches had regularly ordained ministers placed over them, and that the metropolitan bishop alone superintended. This, then, was the first step. The bishop ruled supreme over a few presbyters, then the metropolitan bishop ruled over a number of bishops, large or small as the case might be, in his province. The metropolitans were on a par, just as the bishops were, but they too required heads. There were cer-

tain cities that considered themselves superior to others, such as Rome and Antioch. These could not be put on the same level with ordinary cities, and so it was resolved that their bishops should rule over a number of provinces and superintend all the metropolitan bishops. This is the second step in the ascent of power. The bishops of those chief cities were called patriarchs, and were five in number. The whole power of the Church was thus invested in five men.

The bishops had to submit to the metropolitans, and the metropolitans to the patriarchs. But to whom were the patriarchs to submit? This led to the further development of power in the person of one man, who would be the father or pope of all the rest. The question then arose whether these five men were to have equal power, or whether one of them was to be superior to the rest. The bishop of Rome, who was one of the five, claimed this power. He did so at first very much on the ground that Rome was the ancient seat of the Empire, the most important, and therefore the one which should have the pre-eminence. To submit to this claim was not easy, especially when Rome was no longer the seat of government. A new Rome was established by Constantine in Constantinople, and that city, distinguished by the presence and power of the Emperor, claimed to be equal if not superior to Rome. So that the struggle for power and popedom lay between these two. The other three patriarchs smarted under the tyranny of these two, more, however, under that of the patriarch of Constantinople. For this reason they appealed to Rome, where their appeal was gladly received and responded to. Thus Rome increased in authority, till at last it gained ascendency over its rival and became generally the recognised seat of ecclesiastical authority.

The alliance between Church and State contributed largely to the concentration of power in one individual. The Emperor Constantine divided the whole Empire into

four præfectures. These he divided into dioceses, and the dioceses into provinces. It was quite natural that the Church should wish to imitate the State in having one supreme governor. To make this gradual growth towards Papacy more simple and more easily remembered, take, as an example, the organisation of a committee, educational or political. That committee, having its various constituencies of sub-committees, will represent the metropolitan bishops; the conveners of the sub-committees will represent the patriarchs; the chairman of these conveners will represent the pope.

The bishop of Rome who might really be called the first Pope was Leo I. His claims to superiority were much higher than those of his predecessors. It was not so much on political as on ecclesiastical and spiritual grounds that he claimed superiority for Rome. He maintained that Rome was distinguished by the ministry of Peter and Paul. To Peter Christ gave the keys. Upon his authority the Church of the future was to be built. He was to be the head of the Church, the representative of Christ, and this power of Peter's became the heritage of all his successors. Peter was the chief of the Apostles, and by him they were to be ruled. So must all apostles and prophets and priests be ruled by his successors. Thus the pope was to be the visible representative of Christ, and the supreme head of the Christian world. This claim has never been fully realised, even in the Church of Rome. It remains to this day an apple of discord in the history of the Church. Greek Christendom has never acknowledged it, and Latin Christendom only under manifold protests, which at last conquered in the Reformation, and deprived the Papacy for ever of the best part of its domain.

This claim of the Pope was refused by the famous Synod of Chalcedon in the year 451. At that Synod the legates of Leo I. from Rome were present. To decide their case

in favour of the divine right of Rome, and its superiority over Constantinople, they quoted a passage from the records of the Synod of Nice, whose authority was of very great value. But there were present in that Council men who turned up the old record and discovered that the passage was misquoted and added to, to serve the purpose in hand. The Council disclaimed the pretended divine authority of Rome, and the only authority it granted was the position which Rome held as the ancient seat of the Empire. The decision of the Synod of Chalcedon, comprising six hundred and thirty bishops, was disregarded by Leo I., and by his assumed authority of Peter, he made it null and void. He thus claimed supreme power and demanded complete authority on the ground of being divinely commissioned by God.

The date and place of the birth and early life of Leo I. are unknown. His letters, which are the chief source of information, do not commence before the year 442. Leo justly bears the title of the Great in the history of the Latin hierarchy. In him the idea of the Papacy became flesh and blood. He conceived it with great energy and clearness, and carried it out with the Roman spirit of dominion, so far as the circumstances of the time at all allowed. As far as can be ascertained, he lived a good, moral life. His great desire was to establish a universal Church under one head. In this he was an enthusiast, and his ambition to reign supreme knew no bounds. In spite of this, his conversation was humble and pious, as may be seen from the following description, in one of his sermons, of his feelings at the assumption of his high office: "Lord, I have heard Thy voice calling me, and I was afraid. I considered the work which was enjoined on me, and I trembled. For what proportion is there between the burden assigned to me and my weakness, this elevation and my nothingness? What is more to be feared than exaltation without merit? The exercise of the most

holy functions being entrusted to one who is buried in sin. Thou hast laid upon me this heavy burden. Bear it with me, I beseech Thee; be Thou my guide and my support."

Leo was learned as a theologian. When the doctrine of the person of Christ was abused by the Nicæans, he wrote to the Council of Ephesus a letter which displayed such ability and cleverness that it was adopted by the Council as a settlement of the controversy. He left ninety-six sermons, short and clear, but bearing largely upon Peter's authority. Many of them were preached on the anniversary of his ascension to the Chair. In his writings, we find that characteristic combination of humility and arrogance which has stereotyped itself in the expressions, "Servant of the servants of God," "Vicar of Christ," and even "God upon earth." In this double consciousness of personal unworthiness and of official exaltation, Leo annually celebrated the day of his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter. Peter said nothing of his authority, but Leo celebrated his every year, and could not say enough about it. Peter in Antioch meekly submitted to the junior Apostle Paul, but Leo declared resistance to his authority to be impious pride and the sure way to hell. Obedience to the Pope was thus necessary to salvation. This is the fearful logic of the Papal system, which confines the Kingdom of God to the narrow limits of a particular organisation, and makes the universal reign of Christ dependent upon a temporal form and a human organ.

The circumstances of his time lent themselves to the promotion of the influence of Leo I. There was no Athanasius or Augustine or Jerome to raise his voice against him. The Vandals swept over North Africa and distracted the Church in that region. In her state of weakness and distraction, Leo took advantage of her, wrote to her, and submission was yielded. Spain also yielded to his authority, but in Gaul—France—he was met with stout resistance at the hand of

Hilary of Arles. Although he secured an imperial edict to crush the bishop of Arles, he failed to do so. Leo's keen insight into the relation of parties, his iron will, and the general force of his character and claims secured for him a very large measure of influence, and gave him rank amongst the foremost of the popes.

To the city of Rome he did immortal service in rescuing it from destruction when threatened by a barbarian host under Attila, King of the Huns. Leo, with only two companions, and with crozier in hand, trusting in the help of God, ventured into the camp, and by his venerable form, his remonstrances, and his gifts, he changed the wild heathen's purpose. The famous painter Raphael has immortalised this incident in a painting descriptive of Paul and Peter with drawn swords in their hands, threatening Attila with destruction unless he should desist. A similar case occurred a few years later, when Genseric, King of the Vandals, pushed his ravages to Rome. Leo again succeeded in saving the city from fire, though it was subjected to fourteen days' pillage, the enormous spoils of which were transported to Carthage. Afterwards, Leo did everything in his power to alleviate the consequent destitution and suffering, and to restore the churches. Leo, the first Pope, died in 461, and was buried in the church of St. Peters. The date and circumstances of his death are unknown.

The doctrine of which Leo was so able an exponent, and the system which he so indefatigably tried to establish developed into an organisation, the most powerful and the most formidable in the world. The end and aim of the Papacy is to elevate the Church to the highest platform of power, and to this end everything else must be sacrificed; truth, moral and intellectual, even life itself must not stand in the way of the advancement of its interests. The ignorance of the people, their simple faith and superstition were seized upon and used as tools for the Church's own ends. What

was originally harmless, if not indeed helpful to the meek faith of the Church was converted into questionable means to gain money and power. This leads to the consideration of the superstition of the Papacy of the fifth century, and under this heading may be classed images, saint worship, and relics.

For a long time images in worship were conscientiously discountenanced. The Jews who were converted to Christianity ever retained their abhorrence of images, and for the heathen converts to trifle with images was dangerous, inasmuch as these presented a strong temptation to return to their old sin of idol worship. Besides, Constantine's destruction of the images and idols of the heathen had a salutary effect upon the Church of his time. Epiphanios in Palestine discovered in a certain church a picture of Christ, which he ruthlessly destroyed. The early Church, in her spiritual vigour, needed no aid from images to keep her in remembrance of Christ and divine things. To require such was but a sign of decay and death. When the Church and the world were become too closely allied, the pagan custom of decorative painting found a place within her borders, and it was quite common for Christians in the fourth and fifth centuries to have engraved upon their goblets such figures as the shepherd with a lamb upon his shoulders, while the Holy Ghost was represented by the symbol of the dove. Other symbols in common use were a ship, typical of the voyage heavenward of the soul and the Church, a lyre, denoting the believer's joy, and an anchor as a token of his hope. As early as the end of the third century, religious emblems were used in the churches. But although the sign of the Cross was used by Christians in times of peril, and also in rising in the morning, the Cross was not pictured in the churches. It was not till towards the end of the fourth century that the use of images in the churches became general. The introduction of these images was defended on the plea that

thereby the ignorant were helped to understand. About the middle of the fifth century, when the doctrine of the person of Christ had reached its formal settlement, the first representation of Christ Himself appeared, and it was said by tradition to be a faithful portrait of the original. The earliest, known as the Salvator picture, was represented by tradition to have been a likeness miraculously printed on a cloth which Christ Himself presented to Abgarus, King of Edessa, at his request. There were also various likenesses of the Virgin, the Apostles, and many saints and martyrs. Later on, Christians were in the habit of prostrating themselves before these images. From the point of view of art, these were of little value, for they were produced at first merely for practical use, and were chiefly executed by monks. It seems strange that the Romish Church, in which images hold so prominent a place, can give them that place in the face of the second commandment, which so emphatically forbids the bowing to images. To get rid of the difficulty, the Church, in her catechism used in this country, has no second commandment, but instead, splits up the tenth into two so as to make up the number.

It is quite likely, as Schaff maintains, that the worship of saints proceeded originally from a very deep and lively sense of the communion of saints which extends beyond death and the grave, and embraces even the blessed in heaven. For the first three centuries, there was only a thankful remembrance of their virtue and the celebration of the day of their death as that of their heavenly birth. In Smyrna, the martyrdom of Polycarp was celebrated by the Church, which said, "Christ we worship as the Son of God, the martyrs we love and honour as His disciples and followers." In the fifth century, however, the saints were invoked as intercessors and patrons. Again the Church borrowed from the heathen their worship of the household gods. At first it was the custom to ask favours and intercessions for the dead,

but in course of time this was done for the living. Those who thus prayed presumed that the saints took the deepest interest in the fortunes of the Kingdom of Christ on earth. But this difficulty presented itself. How can the departed saints hear at once the prayers of so many Christians on earth, unless they partake of the divine omnipresence or divine omniscience? If the departed saints first learn from God of the prayers offered to them, and then bring them back again to Him with their intercession, for what purpose is this circuitous way? It is passing strange that, notwithstanding innumerable difficulties like this, many of the early saints favoured this saint worship, among whom was the devout Ambrose of Milan. "May Peter," he says, "who so successfully wept for himself, weep for us, and turn upon us the friendly look of Christ."

The angels who are appointed to guard us must be invoked for us. The martyrs to whose intercession we have claim by the pledge of their bodies, must be invoked. We need not blush to use them as intercessors for our weakness. Augustine infers from the interest which the rich man in hell still had in his five brothers, that the pious dead in heaven must have far more interest than is generally believed in the kindred and friends whom they have left behind.

At the head of the long list of saints, martyrs, and apostles, comes the Virgin Mary, and in speaking of her it may be said that, as Protestants, we have had such a revulsion from Popery that we are apt to look upon Mary as we do upon any of the saints. Yet we should not forget that she was highly honoured amongst women, and that she occupies, as the mother of our Lord, a unique place in the history of the Church.

It is not at all strange that men should err in elevating her above other women. The Catholic Church, both Roman and Greek, over-estimated the high position given to her, and declared to be hers as the mother of our Lord. After the middle

of the fourth century, they overstepped the Biblical limit and transformed the mother of our Lord into the mother of God, "the humble handmaid of the Lord into a Queen of heaven, the highly favoured into a dispenser of favours, the blessed among women into an intercessor above all women. At first she was acquitted of actual sin, then afterwards even of original sin, although the doctrine of the immaculate conception was not established as an Article of faith in the Romish Church till 1854." In striking contrast with the healthful and sober representation of Mary in the Canonical Gospels, are numerous apocryphal gospels of the third and fourth centuries, which decorated Mary's life with fantastic fables. Some of the early Fathers present Mary as the counterpart of Eve. She is the mother of all living, and was the mediate cause of redemption. In addition to this antithesis between Mary and Eve, we have the perpetual virginity advocated by Montanism. Joseph was an old man —a widower—when he married Mary; the brothers of Jesus were his sons by his first wife.

In the beginning of the fifth century, saint worship appeared in full bloom, and Mary was at the head as the most blessed queen of the heavenly host. From that time, numerous churches and altars were erected to the Mother of God, the perpetual Virgin, and innumerable feasts were held in her honour. There were entertained with regard to her relation to Christ the popular beliefs of a sinlessness of conception, a resurrection and ascension, as well as a participation of all power in heaven and on earth, and she became the centre of devotion, culture, and art. The Greek and the Roman Churches vied with each other throughout the Middle Ages in the apotheosis of the human Mother with the divine human child Jesus in her arms, till the Reformation freed a large part of Christendom from this unscriptural idolatry, and concentrated the affection and admiration of believers upon the crucified and

risen Saviour of the world, the only mediator between God and man. Possibly the worship of relics, like the worship of saints, began in a religious feeling of reverence, love, and gratitude, but, like it, ran to idolatrous excess. The worship of relics arose from the worship of saints.

In the second century, the bones of Ignatius were preserved in the church of Antioch as a priceless treasure, and those of Polycarp were preserved in Smyrna. In the fourth century, the early remains of the martyrs were discovered by visions and revelations, and wonderful miracles were wrought when those relics came to light. The very Cross was discovered, and splinters of it were being constantly given away as charms. When it became evident that no ordinary number of crosses could supply so many splinters, it was convenient to say that the Cross truly became a miracle, like the widow's barrel of meal. Veneration for the Cross and Crucifix knew no bounds. With the majority of men, the outward form took the place of the spiritual essence, the wooden and silver Christ was very often made a substitute for the living Christ in the heart. Relics became a regular article of trade and gave occasion for many frauds. On this account the bishops were compelled to prove the genuineness of the relics by historical tradition, visions, or miracles, which sometimes taxed their ingenuity. Notwithstanding the absurd tradition of these relics, they were favoured by most of the principal teachers of that period, such as Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose. "Let others," says Ambrose, "heap up silver and gold. We gather the nails wherewith the martyrs were pierced, and the victims' blood and the wood of their cross." Some of the legends which these good men believed, and some of the miracles which they assert as known to them to be true, are quite incredible. But they serve to show how far such men can be influenced by the spirit of their age, and how difficult it is to rise above the superstition by which one is surrounded.

CHAPTER VII.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism.

By the beginning of the sixth century, the Roman Empire had fallen and broken into fragments. Barbarian hordes of Goths, Vandals, Franks, and others occupied and ruled where once the Roman Eagle held undivided sway. The Emperor or Emperors of Rome were stripped of their authority as the sphere of their dominion became gradually narrowed. They indeed lived more in the glory of the past than in any military achievement of the present. Very different was the condition of affairs in the days of Constantine, when the power of Rome was all but coextensive with that of the world, and when under that power Christianity was fostered for weal or for woe. And yet the breaking up of the Roman Empire, the conquest and re-conquest of other empires and kingdoms tended to the advancement of Christianity. Barbarian nations yielded to the influence of the Gospel, and as the receding wave carries on its bosom the spoils of the invaded territory, so those barbarian hordes conveyed to distant countries the message, the power, and the emblems of the Christian faith.

It was while events like these were transpiring that Clovis, King of the Franks, embraced Christianity, and through him and his subjects, the most powerful in all Europe, a new impulse was given to the spread of the Gospel. For a long time, Clovis had no faith in the God of the Roman people, inasmuch as He appeared to fail to make them victorious over their enemies. His good wife Clotilda, however, by prayer and example, greatly influenced him for good. It is recorded that on a certain occasion, when the fortunes of

war were in the balance, he prayed earnestly to his wife's God to deliver him, promising that if victory was granted He would henceforth be his God. Clovis won the battle, and became a Christian. While being instructed in the history of Christ's life and death, he exclaimed with great excitement, "Had I and my Franks been there, I would have taught the Jews a lesson." As Christianity was being rooted in France under the patronage of Clovis and his people, Germany found its much-needed apostle in Boniface, an English monk. This austere man extended and established monkery throughout the German Empire, and in conjunction with his followers did much to promote the cause of education. Nor were the British Isles at the same time without their witnesses for Christ. These witnesses, however, did not hail from Rome. The Gospel had found its way to Britain by the end of the second century, and centuries afterwards was manifesting its power in the life and labours of St. Patrick and St. Columba, and those of kindred spirit with them, all of whom toiled and sacrificed much to christianize not only their own countrymen but also those of other lands. The Britons, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of England, after the withdrawal of the Roman troops, being constantly harassed by the Picts and the Scots, called to their help the Anglo-Saxons, who, having overcome these enemies, conquered the Britons also, and took possession of their country. The Scottish missionaries found at first no access to these conquering Saxons, and the conquered Britons had no desire to preach to their oppressors. The Gospel, however, came to them from another quarter.

Rome did not cease to exert her spiritual influence, though the Roman Empire ceased to exert its temporal authority. Having assumed the divine authority of the Chair of St. Peter, Rome, in virtue of the same, gradually assumed temporal power, for, according to her claims, all things spiritual and temporal must be under her control.

Pope Gregory, the Great, when yet but an abbot in a monastery in Rome, was led to take an interest in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. One day, as he strolled through the public mart in that city, his attention was attracted to certain boys who were being offered for sale. Struck with their fine appearance and noble air, he enquired after their history. He was told they were Angles. "Not Angles," he replied, "but angels." From that moment, Gregory became inspired with the thought of christianizing the land whence these youths came. And long after, when Gregory became Pope, in the year 597 A.D., Augustine or Austen, along with forty companions, arrived in Kent in England, and took up their quarters in the island of Thanet. Being first successful in converting the royal household, they made speedy progress in extending their operations. Augustine became the great apostle of the English, who thus received their Christianity direct from Rome. The ancient Irish and Scottish Church had originally no connection with the Popes of Rome. She was of a purer and more permanent character, and has indeed ever since, in some of her branches at least, showed herself possessed of great independence.

When Augustine was prosecuting his mission in England, when Western Europe was trying to consolidate its lawless and discordant elements, there was growing up in Mecca, in Arabia, a humble, unpretentious youth, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, and ignorant of those tremendous destinies which lay dormant within him. That youth was Mohammed, the founder of that religion which, next to Christianity, has exerted over civilized Europe the mightiest and most permanent influence. Mohammed scarcely emerges into view until he has reached the meridian of manhood. Deprived of early paternal care, cast upon the protection of strangers, forced from tender years to support himself by the work of his hands, he appears at six-and-twenty

discharging the duties of a camel-driver. Then suddenly his fortune changes. The mistress in whose service he laboured becomes enamoured of him, marries him, and translates him in a moment from great poverty to vast wealth.

Like some other great men, Mohammed was scarcely above the middle height, but was of a dignified and commanding appearance. An admiring follower says of him, "He was the handsomest, the bravest, the brightest-faced, and the most generous of men. He had a broad chest, the firmly-knit limbs of the man of action, the large and well-shaped head of the man of thought and capacity, the fine, long, arching eyebrows, and brilliant black eyes, which sometimes betoken genius, but always an emotional nature; the large blood vessel in his brow filled and darkened and throbbed when he was angry, which, if it proved him to have been of an excitable temperament, illustrated also the self-control which enabled him habitually to calm the storm within."

In ordinary address, Mohammed's speech was slow, distinct, and emphatic; but when he preached, his eyes would redden, his voice rise high and loud, and his whole frame become agitated with passion. His gait was as expressive as his appearance; his step is described as that of a man descending a hill, and he walked with such extreme rapidity that those who accompanied him were kept at a half run. His manner was that of a perfect Arab gentleman who knows no distinction of rank, and is as courteous and polite to rags as to purple. He was the most accessible of men; he had an unusually delicate consideration for the feelings and the comforts of others. When anyone addressed him, he turned full round and gave him his undivided attention. In greeting anyone, he was never the first to withdraw the hand. Habitually taciturn, he was yet delightful in his hours of relaxation. He was fond of children, had a kind word for those he saw in the street, and was not ashamed to be seen by astonished Arab chiefs carrying and fondling one

of his own little girls. He enjoyed a good laugh, and could well stand the test of Thomas Carlyle who assures us that the man who cannot laugh is not only fit for treason, stratagem, and spoil, but his whole life is already a treason and a stratagem. In family affliction he displayed profound feeling and sorrow. Few things are more touching than his words, as he handed the lifeless body of his own little son to his nurse, " Abrahim, oh, Abrahim, if it were not that the promises are faithful and the hope of the resurrection sure, if it were not that this is the way to be trodden by all, and the last of us shall join the first, I would grieve for thee with a grief deeper than this."

Mohammed was a wealthy man, but he was more influenced by a religious spirit than by his wealth. After the fashion of the times, he became a recluse, and, at the age of forty, habituated himself to fasting and prayer in a cave in the neighbourhood of Mecca. It was in this cave, where he spent a month every year, that he received, as he maintained, a divine revelation. Subject, apparently, to epileptic fits and trances, he at first became alarmed at the idea that he was being influenced by some evil spirit. His wife, Khadijah, however, encouraged him in the belief that he was approved of God as a prophet, and that he had a special mission to his countrymen to teach them to believe in one God and in himself as His prophet. His own household were the first to believe in him. The powerful tribe, the Khoreishites, to which he belonged, refused to accept his mission, and in five years he won over to his faith not more than fifty converts. Having first disseminated his doctrines in private, he began, a few years later, to proclaim them in public, a step which, while raising persecution against him, at the same time increased the number of his followers, and created considerable enthusiasm in his favour. When he was obliged to leave Mecca, he fixed upon Medina, a town at a considerable distance from Mecca, as his headquarters.

Having sent his followers before him, he delayed for a few days in his native town, but when he discovered that his enemies were lying in wait for him, like David of old, he made good his escape, leaving his servant, whom he covered with his mantle, in his bed. Accompanied by a trustworthy follower, he, with much difficulty, escaped to Medina. In the course of his flight, while lying concealed in a cave, he said to his companion, who, becoming much alarmed, remarked, "We are only two," "No, we are stronger than our foes, we are three, for God is with us."

In Medina Mohammed built a church, where he prayed and preached. He increased the number of his followers, began to fight battles, and in a short time he came back to Mecca with an army of ten thousand, took that city, and marched in triumph through its streets. It was to his credit that he acted most leniently towards those by whom some years before he had been banished from the city. The great heathen temple—Caaba—one of the oldest in the world, he consecrated to the new religion. In a short time, all Arabia adopted his creed and subjected itself to his sway, and in course of time Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, and lastly Spain were conquered. Twice Constantinople was besieged, but without success.

Mohammedanism, as an aggressive power, remained a menace to Europe as late as the sixteenth century, and, although from that time it has been a waning power, yet the faith of Islam prevails from the Empire of Morocco to the foot of the Himalayas, and from the southernmost point of the Arabian peninsula to the northern limits of Turkey in Europe. Fifteen per cent. of our fellowmen are understood to be Mohammedans. Christianity claims from four hundred to five hundred millions, Mohammedanism from one hundred and fifty to two hundred millions, of whom from forty to fifty millions are our fellow subjects.

Mohammed was better than the religion he established.

He was purer in his earlier than in his later years. Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained about this remarkable man and his work, it must be admitted on all hands that the religion he founded has exercised and still exercises a very great and commanding influence. The marvellous progress and power of the religion of Mohammed may be explained on various grounds.

The circumstances of the time and place favoured the advent of the religion of Islam. Multitudes amongst the tribes of the desert were recoiling from the gross idolatry by which they were surrounded. The Caaba, the great temple of the Arabians at Mecca, had within it three hundred and forty idols that were its objects of worship. The Christians in Arabia were half heathen. They, too, were practically worshippers of idols, and the Jews, of whom there were not a few, were beginning to lose hold of the one God and faith of their fathers. The religion of Mohammed professed to restore the idea of the unity of God. The simple gospel of the prophet was, "There is but one God," and his religion is called Islam—unconditional submission to that one God is its demand. Mohammedanism waged exterminating war against idolatry. In one day the three hundred and forty idols of the Caaba were broken to pieces. Idolatry and Mohammedanism could not live together. This antagonism influenced multitudes to disclaim idolatry and to favour the new faith. The Christians also saw in it something that they could countenance rather than the superstition of their surroundings. Jesus was acknowledged by Mohammed as a prophet of God. The great prophets of Islam were Adam, Noah, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mohammed. To this day Jesus Christ is acknowledged by the Mussulmans. Lady Duff Gordon records that the Moslem carpenter she employed was seen swallowing the saw-dust of the cedar he was using for his work, because, as he imagined, that was the tree under

which Mary had sat with Jesus during the flight into Egypt. Under Moslem government, men have been put to death for blaspheming the name of Christ. Christians and Jews, provided they pay tribute, do not come within the scope of the Mohammedan sentence of extermination by the sword, which is pronounced upon infidels.

The power of the sword, and the promised reward to those who fell in battle were most potent factors in the spread of this religion. "Other prophets had come with miracles," says Mohammed, "and have been disbelieved." Therefore Mohammed came with the sword. The watchword of his followers was, "Fight, die, and enter paradise." The most gorgeous prospects were held out to those who sacrificed their lives for their faith. Religious wars have in all ages proved to be most devastating in their nature. The soldier who is inspired by the thought that he is fighting the battles of the Lord, and that he will be rewarded in heaven according to his prowess, will go through fire and flood to win his victory. "I see," said one of the Prophet's soldiers as he went forth to battle, "I see the angels in heaven, beckoning me forward; I see them waving for me as they hold out their reward." A spirit such as this, diffused through the vast armies of Mohammed, could not possibly fail to prove a power to win victories and subdue kingdoms that was quite irresistible.

The personal influence of this prophet was most potent in gaining for him the power he wielded. He led a humble life; wealth had no attraction for him. He dwelt in a number of small huts, over the roofs of which a tall man could see. In these houses built of branches of trees, with lattice doors and bare floors, he lived in turn with his wives. His food was of the plainest kind. He slept on his mat after the fashion of his time and people, refusing the comforts of a soft bed which his friends often advised him to use, saying, "What have I to do with such luxuries as

those? I live for another life." On one occasion, one of his wives said, "We have lived for months on two black things, dates and water." He kept no money in his possession, always distributing it to the poor as occasion required. Thus Mohammed had in his life and character elements well fitted to win for him the respect, love, and obedience of his followers, and to attract to his side those with whom he came in contact.

The confession of faith of Mohammedanism is a very simple one. To become a convert to that religion, all that is required is to stretch out the fore-finger of the right hand and to say, "I believe in one God and Mohammed as His prophet." This secures admission into the number of the faithful and into paradise, and the confession can be made on the field of battle, even at the point of the bayonet, and by friend or by foe. The rites of initiation into this faith are, therefore, very simple indeed. It is true that great licence is given to the converts, licence, too, in sins most common in the East. The restraints upon the life, so far as many of its pleasures are concerned, are very few—an additional attraction to the faithful.

The Koran, the Mohammedan's Bible, consists of a succession of professed divine revelations made to the prophet. These revelations were repeated by him and committed to memory by some of his followers, or written upon stones, leaves of trees, and shoulder bones, and huddled together without order. There is no continuity, no system, and in many parts no sense; yet its teaching has been systematised and is said to rest upon five pillars, viz., the recital of the confession, obedience to the five periods of daily prayer, the giving of alms, the fast of Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Koran has a number of passages quoted from the apocryphal books of the Bible. The knowledge of the Bible displayed therein, however, is most crude, although some of its doctrines are accepted, as,

for example, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, divine providence, and future rewards.

Although Mohammed was no scholar, although indeed he displays marvellous ignorance of the history and state of the world, although he seemed to take little interest in education, yet his followers and successors did much for the cause of learning. Within a short period after Mohammed's death, there were crowded universities in Bagdad, Damascus, and Alexandria. Astronomy, Biology, Physiology, and Medicine were studied with zeal and success. Mohammedanism has done much in the field of war and learning, and in that of European commerce. As Mohammedans grew in wealth, they grew in liberality. Their merchants travelled from shore to shore, carrying the perfumes of Arabia, and the sweeter perfumes of Arabian civilization. It may now be said that the glory of Mohammedanism has passed away, that its conquests have been transferred to other hands, that its battles have been forgotten, that its learning and civilization have become the possession of its enemies, but in its day it did the work and served the purpose for which it was destined, and conferred benefits, not a few, upon its own and subsequent ages.

If the Mohammedan faith had within it elements of power and progress, it had also elements of decay. Mohammedanism was aggressive only in its missionary stage. When the victory was won, and men had to shape a life of peace for themselves, there was nothing in its creed to guide or sustain. Hence it is that Mr. Morris says, "It has been proved that Mohammedanism can thrive only while it is aiming at conquest. When the stream ceases to flow and gathers into the pool or the marsh, it generally becomes polluted; so when Mohammedanism ceases to fight, it sinks into sluggish stupidity and into a barbarism far viler than that of the conquerors, who raised it to greatness."

One great defect in this religion is that there is no

recognition of holiness in God, with the result that Mohammed had no concern to live a pure life. It would seem clear that up to the death of his first wife his character was blameless, but after her death he gave full sway to his inclinations, and took to himself several wives. True, it was the custom of the times, though that was no justification of his conduct; and what made it all the worse was that, when objection was raised to his polygamy, he maintained that he had a special revelation from God sanctioning his behaviour. To his followers he granted the liberty of having four wives, but claimed for himself a greater licence. This evil is sanctioned in the Koran, and continues to be one of the luxuries which God gives to the Mohammedans. Thus they make God the author of what many of them must know is a great sin. So long as any given creed is wrong, the religion of that creed must continue to be on the inclined plane, and to bear within itself its own condemnation and the seeds of decay.

When Pope Gregory, the Great, wrote to St. Augustine, the apostle of Britain, he told him to choose the best features of the religions of the natives, and not to be too bigoted as to the rules of Rome—a remarkable advice, and one the sense of which cannot fail to be perceived and admired. There is something to be learned from every religion, and from some a great deal—from that of Mohammed not the least. There are phases in the life of the Mussulman that seem superior to many observable in the life of the professed Christian. Drinking and gambling find no place in the life programme of the Mohammedan. In fact, Christians are spoken of by them as those who drink wine. The Mohammedan's attachment to his religion is marvellous. He never shows any hesitation or fear in confessing God, and reduces to practice the principle that the worship of God is not confined to temples or to any special place. Whether he is in the crowded street or in the

desert, at the regular hour of prayer he turns his face towards Mecca and worships God.

"Most honour to the men of prayer,
Whose mosque is in them everywhere,
Who amid revel's wildest din,
In war's severest discipline,
On rolling deck, or thronged bazaar,
In stranger land however far,
However different in their creed,
In thought, in manner, dress, or deed,
Will quietly their carpet spread,
To Mecca turn the humble head
And, as if blind to all around,
And deaf to each disturbing sound,
In ritual language God adore,
In spirit to His presence soar,
And in the pauses of the prayer
Rest as if rapt in glory there."

True, there may be much formalism in this worship, but there are things worse than formalism. Those who hold themselves excused from the duty of worship by every slight obstacle might do worse than get infected by the sublime formalism of a certain Mohammedan, who would not shift his head an inch from the place of his prostration, although a huge serpent lifted its fangs close to his face, and finally coiled itself round his neck.

From the self-denying character of this religion, an important lesson might be learned. Almsgiving is practised with great care. Of all his possessions, the Mussulman must give a prescribed portion, one tenth of grain or fruit, one of every hundred camels, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his money, both capital and profit. The poor are cared for. Islam has been greatly commended for the provision it makes for the poor. The fast of Ramadan is a *bona-fide* total abstinence from food, drink, and smoking, from sunrise to sunset of each day throughout the whole month of the Mohammedan Lent. The hard-wrought labourer in the burning street, the traveller in the desert may be blinded by the glare of the sun, may actually become insensible, yet must taste nothing,

if possible not even smell what might for the moment revive his failing energies. "In those days," says a medical man, "I found but one patient that would eat to save his life." Such self-denial is most wonderful, and, in some respects, exceeds the self-denial exercised in Christianity. Yet the religion of Mohammed is but a dead carcase. It has no place for atonement made for sin, it has no place for a merciful God showing His love and compassion through His son Jesus Christ; it bears the mark of immaturity upon it in every part; it proves itself to be a religion only for the childhood of the race. The dead hand of the Koran is on the throat of every Mohammedan, and until a new Bible is substituted, there can be no purity of life, no practical religion that will show itself in a full, round development of life and character. This book of the Koran is a self-contradiction. It acknowledges the Bible as a divine revelation, and yet it sanctions and demands beliefs and rules of life and doctrine entirely opposed to its teaching. In the Koran God's universal fatherhood is ignored, and no place is given to Christ's merits. In the service of the Almighty the fetters of a minute ritual are substituted for that worship which the Holy Scriptures teach is to be in spirit and in truth. Light and darkness are not more opposed to each other than the loving dictates of the Gospel and the vengeful spirit of the Koran, in which hatred and oppression take the place of love and forgiveness of injuries, and in which the denunciations of the prophet stand in striking contrast to the voice of the Good Shepherd, the object of whose life and death is peace and goodwill towards all men.

"And therefore though ancestral sympathies
And closest ties of race
May guard Mohammed's precepts and decrees
Through many a tract of space,
Yet in the end the tight-drawn line must break,
The sapless tree must fall,
Nor let the form, one time did well to take
Be tyrant over all."

Part II.

MEDIÆVAL CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER VIII.

Charlemagne.

The Mohammedan religion was at the zenith of its power towards the close of the seventh century. From the time it had advanced beyond the borders of Arabia, it found no limits to its conquest in the East; it swept Westward over Africa, Spain, and Southern Gaul, and seemed indeed destined to overspread the whole world, but at that juncture it received a check, a defeat; it was almost the first, it was unquestionably the greatest it suffered. The Western world was saved from the all-conquering Mohammedans by the great victory of the Franks at Tours, under the leadership of Charles Martel.

The Franks (or the free folks), were a mixture of Teutonic tribes who conquered and took possession of Gaul or France about the year 486 A.D. When their king, Clovis or Chlodivig, adopted the religion of Christianity, he was enabled, by the approval and help of Rome, to extend his conquests. The Franks were Christianised by missionaries from Rome and England. The Pope claimed the right of transferring the crown of France from the old dynasty of the Franks, the Merovingian, to that of the Carlovingian, or the family of Charles Martel. It is difficult to estimate all the consequences to the Church and to Western Europe of the elevation of this new dynasty.

In one of the forests of Germany (that country in the seventh century was literally covered with forests) there stood an old and venerable oak, hallowed for ages to Thor, the god of the Germans. One day a missionary of the Cross, attended by a few faithful coadjutors, approached this tree, axe in hand, and in the presence of an assembled multitude of pagans, cut it down and split it up. The heathen idol proved helpless before the blows of the axes of the Christians. In the same way the religion of the heathens proved powerless before that of Christianity. The trembling pagans at once bowed before the superior might of the god of the foreign missionaries. To the wood of the huge tree the greater part of a church built for Christian worship is indebted for its existence. That brave soldier of the Cross, the leader of that Christian band, was Boniface, an English monk who has already been referred to as the great apostle of the German nation.

Boniface was said to have displayed from his youth a spirit of piety. Ordained priest at the age of thirty, he went to Rome and was commissioned by the Pope to propagate the Gospel in Germany. Previous to that visit, however, he went to Friesland and made his way to Utrecht. There he found Radbold, King of Frisia, fiercely persecuting the Christians on the borders of his kingdom. It was this Radbold who, on a previous occasion, professed himself ready to receive Christian baptism, but, before the rite was administered, he desired a solution of the question, whether when he himself entered heaven he should find his royal predecessors there. When he was told that those who died without baptism were certainly condemned to hell, Radbold exclaimed, "What would I do along with a few poor people in heaven? I will abide by the religion of my fathers."

Boniface penetrated the dark German forest and conveyed the message of gospel light to thousands of still darker minds. Enormous multitudes were converted and baptised.

Heathen temples were destroyed, and Christian churches built in place of them. Boniface had won a new empire for Christianity, and was, by the respectful gratitude of the Pope, placed over it as spiritual sovereign. Boniface, in his old age, threw off the pomp and authority of Primate of Germany, and became a humble apostle in Friesland, where he made numerous converts. He appointed a day on which he was to administer the rite of confirmation to all these. Day had but begun to dawn on the open country where the tents of Boniface and his followers had been pitched. Suddenly they were attacked by a band of armed heathen. His followers offered to defend Boniface, but he refused to allow them, and holding a number of relics in his hand, he awaited the attack of his foes, and perished in the act of counselling his followers. He exhorted them not to fear those who may kill the body, but cannot harm the soul. The assailants quarrelled about the spoil, made themselves drunk with the wine, and so fell upon each other and revenged the Christian martyrs.

It must not be forgotten that Germany was visited by missionaries from Scotland and Ireland before the time of Boniface. These were not subjects of the Roman Church, nor did they approve of all her tenets. For this reason, Boniface, who was a loyal subject of the Pope, condemned them as heretics. These missionaries did great service, but lacked a most important help to which Boniface owed a large amount of his influence. The reigning king of the Franks, the son of Charles Martel, threw in his military power to aid Boniface, and to conquer the German nation. There was no effort of moral or spiritual persuasion with him. He employed material force, believing that people became Christians by water baptism. In the same manner he tried to convert the Saxons to Christianity. His policy was either to Christianise or to kill them. Great and shameful atrocities were thus perpetrated in the name of religion.

Four thousand five hundred captives were massacred in one day. This was a radical departure from Apostolic methods, and diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. It was the first example of a bloody crusade for the overthrow of heathenism and the extension of the Christian Church.

Alcuin, a great admirer of Charles Martel, representing the School of English missionaries, protested against this wholesale conversion by force. He held that the heathen should first be instructed, that water baptism without faith was of no use, that moral suasion, love, and self-denial are the only proper means by which to convert the heathen. In spite, however, of this great blemish in the method of Christianising, Charles the Great, the grandson of Charles Martel, rendered marvellous service in opening up amongst the heathen the way for the spread of the Gospel. His grand ambition was to unite all the Teutonic and Latin races on the continent under his temporal sceptre, in close union with the spiritual dominion of the Pope. He has for this reason been called " The Moses of the Middle Ages," who conducted the Germanic race through the desert of barbarism, and gave it a new code of political, civil, and ecclesiastical laws. He stood at the head of the new Western Empire, as Constantine the Great stood at the head of the Eastern Empire, and he is often called the New Constantine. Yet he was as far superior to him as the Latin empire was to the Greek. He was emphatically a man of providence. Charles the Great towers high above the crowned princes of his age, and is the greatest as well as the first of all the long line of German emperors, from the eighth to the nineteenth century.

He seemed to be almost omnipresent in his dominions, which extended from the Baltic and the Elbe in the north to the Ebro in the south; from the British Channel to Rome and even to the Straits of Messina, embracing France, Germany, Hungary, the greater part of Italy, and Spain.

His ecclesiastical domain extended over twenty-two archbishopries or metropolitan sees. Charles gave his personal attention to things great and small. He introduced into his empire a settled order and unity of organisation.

Frederick II. of Prussia, and Napoleon Bonaparte (who took him and Cæsar as his models) are the only two military heroes that may be compared with him; but they were far beneath him in religious character, and as hostile to the Christian Church as he was friendly to it. His lofty intellect shines all the more brightly when we consider the general ignorance and barbarism of the age.

In appearance, Charlemagne was most commanding, yet his presence was winning. He was tall, strongly built, and well proportioned. His height is said to have been seven times the length of his foot. He was naturally eloquent, and spoke with great clearness and force. He was simple in attire, temperate in eating and drinking. He abominated drunkenness in any one, much more in himself and in those of his household. During his meals he had read to him extracts from Augustine's *City of God* (his favourite book) and stories of olden times. He was kind to the poor, but his greatest merit was his zeal for education and religion. He took measures to correct the Latin version of the Scriptures, and was greatly interested in theological questions. He delighted in cultivated society, and gathered round him divines, scholars, poets, historians, mostly Anglo-Saxons, amongst whom Alcuin was chief. He also founded many schools and universities. Charles professed to be a firm believer in Christianity. He was a devout and regular worshipper in the church, attending morning and evening services. He gave tithes throughout the empire, appointed bishops, and endowed churches. He had the greatest respect for the Church and profound veneration for the Pope, to whom he presented vast dominions. According to the cir-

cumstances of the times and the spirit of the age, Charles exceeded all his contemporaries in Church extension and organisation.

The name of the "blessed Charles" is enrolled in the Roman Calendar for his services to the Church and gifts to the Pope. Heathen Rome deified Julius Cæsar; Christian Rome canonized Charles the Great. His life, however, public or private, cannot be said to justify all this honour. To his towering ambition and passion for conquests he sacrificed thousands of human lives. He converted the Saxons by force of arms, crushed out their spirit of independence, and, in order to prevent a future revolt, removed ten thousand from their homes on the banks of the Elbe to different parts of Germany and Gaul. His war was one of annihilation of heathenism conducted on the Mohammedan principle—submission to the Faith or death. And, when we come to his private life, we find no excuse for his disregard of the sanctity of the marriage tie. In this respect, he was not better than an Oriental despot or a Mohammedan caliph. He married several wives, and divorced them at pleasure. It is very much to the discredit of the Popes that they never rebuked him for a vice which they were ready to condemn in the case of weaker and less devoted monarchs. Like many other great men, his brilliant character is stained with many vices that, in modern and better days, would have excluded him from a place among the faithful, and debarred him from the privileges of the Church. But no one will deny that a man of such religious tendencies, such giant intellect, and such unbounded influence, presiding as he did over the vast territories of the new Roman Empire, could not but help forward the interests of Christianity.

Charles seemed to have had implicit faith in the preaching of the Word as a means of consolidating the Church. He was specially impressed with the conviction that her safety depended largely upon the performance of the preacher's

office. He admonished the clergy to prepare their sermons well, to be diligent in the study of the Bible in order to the better discharge of their sacred duties. In this view of things, he was strengthened by his faithful adviser, Alcuin. "There is no knowledge of God," says this man, "without the Holy Scriptures, and if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch. Provide yourselves with teachers of the Holy Scriptures that there may be no want of the word of God among you, that men capable of guiding the people may not fail, that the fountain of truth may not become dry among you." In the opinion of this excellent man, it was considered most important that Christian knowledge should be diffused among the laity, and that they should be led to take an intelligent share in the services of the Church. He was impressed also by the conviction that the promotion of the kingdom of God was not a work for the clergy only, but that it ought to be the care of all Christians in common.

Charles the Great died on January 28th, 814 A.D., in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. He was buried on the same day, in the Cathedral of Aix-la-chapelle, amid the lamentations of the people.

There are no two Churches in the world so much alike and yet so averse to each other as the Greek and Roman Churches. The Greek Church claims exclusive orthodoxy, and looks upon the Roman Church as heretical. The Roman Church claims catholicity, and regards the Greek as both schismatical and heretical. The one is proud of its creed, the other of its dominion. The Pope and the Czar are the two most powerful rival despots in Christendom.

The Russian Church separated itself from the See of Rome in 1054 A.D., and from the Byzantine patriarchate in 1598 A.D., but still it maintains its relations of a sister Church with the four patriarchates of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, none of which has any connection with Rome. The two Churches agree on the same creed,

with the exception of the "filioque," the authority of ecclesiastical tradition as the first rule of faith with regard to the Holy Scriptures, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, their pictures and relics, justification by faith and good works as joint conditions, the merit of good works, especially celibacy and poverty, baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the Mass. On the doctrine of purgatory, the Greek Church is less explicit. The Greek Church also favours the reading and the free circulation of the Scriptures in the authorised vernacular version.

The two Churches differ on the following points. On the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Greek teaches the single procession, from the Father only, the Roman the double, from the Father and the Son. The Greek denies the universal authority and infallibility of the Pope, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin. The marriage of the lower clergy is allowed by the Greeks, but forbidden by the Romans. In the Greek Church the cup is given in the sacrament, in the Roman it is withheld. The two Churches, while they differ in much, agree in more. The separation and antagonism is explained more on the ground of alienation of spirit than of change of condition. In the first six centuries the Greek Church represented the main current of life and progress. In the Middle Ages, under the reign of Charles the Great, the Latin Church was foremost in the task of civilising and Christianising the pagan races.

The first cause of separation was the rivalry between the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Rome. The former claimed supremacy on the ground that Constantinople was the seat of the Empire; the latter on the ground that Rome was the ancient seat and the scene of the labours and death of St. Peter. The second cause was the growing and overbearing power of the Latin Church in and through the Papacy. The third was the stationary character of the Greek

and the progressive character of the Latin Church during the middle ages.

Two things in particular hastened and ripened the first division between the East and the West, between the Greek and the Roman Church. The edict against image worship by the Emperor Leo in 727 A.D., and the protection of Rome (against the Lombards and other enemies) by the Pope, together with the furthering of her interests by Charles the Great. Leo, to whom reference has just been made, was of obscure birth, and belonged to the borders of Isauria. His skill in arms and his manly courage marked him out for the throne. He reigned with wisdom and power over the Byzantine Empire. Ten years after assuming the reins of government, and to the surprise of his subjects, he issued an edict against image worship. For twelve years he persisted in war against images, but all that was accomplished was the removal of most of them from public places and the raising of those in the churches beyond the reach of the worshippers, so that the latter were no longer able to touch them with their lips. Twelve years did little to overcome the deeply rooted feelings of the people. After his death, a violent reaction took pace in favour of image worship. His son and successor, however, Constantine Copronymus, was as zealous an opponent of image worship as his father had been. During his long reign of thirty-four years, he maintained his father's policy with great ability. In 754 A.D., he called at Constantinople a council of three hundred and forty-eight bishops. That council condemned and forbade, on pain of deposition and excommunication, the public and private worship of sacred images. It condemned all religious representations by painter, sculptor, or "presumptuous pagan and idolator." This decree alienated the Church of Rome. Indeed the Pope of Rome refused to publish it. It also alienated the general body of the monks under the patriarch of Constantinople. They refused to

submit to it, being of all the Church the most devoted to image worship. As a result of their insubordination, they were persecuted by order of the Emperor, who himself lived to see images completely banished from Constantinople. But to a lady of his own family, his daughter-in-law, may be attributed in great measure the important change of Christianity from a purely spiritual worship to that paganising form of religion which grew up with such rapidity in the succeeding centuries. This change was due to the Empress, Irene, the wife of the son and heir of Constantine. In the year 787 A.D., she summoned a council of three hundred and fifty bishops and nullified the decree of her father-in-law. So convinced was this woman of her power, so determined on having the worship of images restored and preserved, that she actually killed her own son, who, she feared, would oppose her policy. What will ambition and fanaticism in religion not stoop to do!

The consummation of the division between the Greek and the Latin Churches was the crowning of Charles the Great. When Charles was celebrating Christmas in St. Peters in the year 800 A.D., and kneeling in prayer before the altar, the Pope placed a golden crown upon his head, and the Roman people shouted three times, "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." This act of coronation was on the part of the Pope a final declaration of independence of and self emancipation from the Greek Emperor as the legal ruler of Rome. It was also a final separation of the Roman from the Greek Church, over which the Emperor of Constantinople ruled. The Pope, by voluntarily conferring the imperial crown upon Charles, claimed that the empire was his gift, and that the right of crowning implied the right of dethroning, and this right succeeding Popes claimed. They maintained that the spiritual power implied the temporal.

A mosaic picture represents St. Peter in glory bestowing upon Pope Leo III., who is kneeling on his right, the priestly stole, and upon Charles, who kneels on his left, the standard of Rome. This is the mediæval hierarchical theory which derives all power from God through Peter as head of the Church. Gregory VII. compared the Church to the sun, and the State to the moon which derives her light from the sun. The Popes will always maintain the principle of the absolute supremacy of the Church over the State, and support or oppose a government, whether it be that of an empire, kingdom, or republic, according to the degree of its subserviency to the interests of the hierarchy. "The papal syllabus of 1864 expresses the genuine spirit of the system in irreconcilable conflict with the spirit of modern history and civilisation. The Vatican Palace is the richest museum of classical and mediæval curiosities, and the Pope himself, the infallible oracle of two hundred millions of souls, is by far the greatest curiosity in it."

CHAPTER IX.

Hildebrand.

Charles the Great was succeeded by his third son, Louis the Pious. On his accession, his good character displayed itself to great advantage. The licence of his father's court was suppressed. Louis stood forward as the reformer, not the slave, of the clergy. He dispatched commissioners throughout the empire to receive complaints and to redress all acts of oppression. He assumed as his unquestioned prerogative the right to settle the questions at issue between the Pope and his rebellious subjects, as also the right to decide the claims of the Popes to their positions. The legislation of the Church must be through the Emperor; the monasteries were largely endowed by him and put under iron rule; strict rules were also enacted for the clergy; they were prohibited from receiving donations or bequests to the injury of near relatives; none were to be received into monasteries in order to obtain the property of these monasteries. During a disturbed reign of twenty-six years, Louis attempted and effected many reforms in Church and State; reforms that would have been greater and more permanent had not his own sons on two occasions attempted to depose him.

Louis followed the example of his father in using his imperial influence for the spread of the Gospel amongst the heathen. The conversion to the Christian faith of the English and the Germans gave the Church vantage ground from which to push out its missionary stations amongst the kindred tribes to the North and East. The Gospel was first carried thither by adventurous travellers, by merchants, by

zealous monks anxious for the crown of martyrdom, or by the followers of some conquering army.

There was born in Amiens, in France, in the year 801 A.D., of noble parents, a child given up by them from his birth to the service of God. He was called Ansgar. He became a most industrious and successful scholar. When he grew up to years of manhood, he felt himself impelled to devote his life to the spread of the Gospel amongst the heathen. At this opportune season, Christ appeared to him in a vision, and called him to confess his sins that he might receive absolution. He replied, "Thou knowest all things. Not a thought is hidden from Thee." But the Lord said, "It is true that I know all things, yet it is my will that men should confess to me their sins, that they may be forgiven." When Ansgar confessed, Christ, in words that filled him with inexpressible joy, pronounced his sins forgiven. Then, like Paul of old, he said, "Lord, what wouldst Thou have me to do?" to which came the reply, "Go, preach the word of God to the tribes of the heathen." This man, full of zeal and faith, Louis the Pious commanded to go, accompanied by another of a kindred spirit, to preach the Gospel amongst the Danes. The king provided them with church vessels, tents, and whatever else they required for their journey.

The first two years from the end of 826 A.D. Ansgar spent in Denmark, years during which many converts were added to the Church. He showed his wisdom in adopting a plan for the conversion of the heathen that is now much believed in and acted upon by various Churches—that of training native preachers. He purchased boys belonging to the nation, whom, with others presented to him by the king, he took under his own care, educating and training them as teachers. This school of twelve boys, for such was the number, was the first Christian institution planted in Denmark.

From Denmark Ansgar went to Sweden. There some seeds of Christianity had been already scattered as a result of intercourse with Christian nations. From the King of Sweden permission was obtained to preach the Gospel and to baptise all such as were willing to embrace the faith. Ansgar found also in Sweden many Christian captives who rejoiced at being allowed once more to partake of the Lord's Supper. Herigar was amongst the first to make open profession. He was a man of rank and means, and erected a church on his own estate.

Christianity was introduced to Norway in a somewhat similar way. Three of the most valiant Norwegian princes, Hacon, and the two Olafs, who had, in their travels, been influenced by it, endeavoured to introduce it by force amongst their subjects. A giant leader of the people maintained that their god Thor, if he appeared in public, would soon defeat the army of the King, who, it must be known, favoured the Christian faith. This, as was to be expected, proved a failure. Then it was arranged to have a trial of strength between the God of the Christians and the idol. The colossal image of Thor, overspread with gold and silver, was drawn to the public place, and around it the pagans assembled. The King directed Colbein, a man of great strength to stand near him. On this occasion the heathen leader, in his speech, challenged the Christians to produce evidence of the power of their strength, and pointed them to their god, the great Thor, the very sight of whom filled them all with alarm. To this the Christian King calmly answered, "You threaten us with your deaf and blind god, soon to meet with a sorry end; but lift up your eyes to the heavens, and behold our God of whom ye say, 'He can be seen by no one.' How majestically he reveals himself in the radiant light!" The sun then burst forth, and at the same moment Colbein, as previously directed by the King, demolished, with a single blow, the mighty idol. The

monster fell, broke up into fragments, and from among them came forth a multitude of mice, snakes, and lizards. With it fell the reigning power of heathenism in Norway. The king in whose reign this incident took place was Haco the Good, 934-961 A.D.

The means adopted for Christianising Jutland and Iceland were of a similar character. From the middle of the ninth century, Orkney, the Shetlands, and the Hebrides were overrun by Norwegian refugees and adventurers. The Gaelic population were subjugated, and for a time Christianity appears to have been submerged. In the course of two or three generations, however, the Church regained its lost ground, although the islands remained under Norse domination for several hundred years. Ansgar, who was called the Apostle of the North, inasmuch as he now devoted his life labours to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, was made archbishop of Hamburg, and invested with metropolitan power over the Northern mission. He laboured over thirty years for the salvation of the heathen in those Northern lands. He died at the age of sixty-four. Referring to his troubles, he often remarked that his bodily pains were less than his sins deserved, repeating at such times the words of Job, "Have we received good from the hand of the Lord?" He died with these words on his lips, "Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner."

Although individual monks, imbued with missionary spirit, went forth on missionary enterprises amongst the heathen, and although occasional efforts were put forth by reigning kings to Christianise nations which they conquered, the Church as a whole was dead and indifferent to the true extension of Christianity. Indeed, for a period of nigh two hundred years, from the eighth to the tenth century, the Romish Church lay deep in the mire of moral degradation. The history of that period is a labyrinth of murderous intrigues between Church and State, and between parties

aspiring to power and rule in each. It is difficult to say whether bloodshed, rapine, and murder were more prevalent between kings and emperors of the same blood and kindred in the State, than between popes, bishops, and priests of like relationship in the Church. The priesthood became demoralised; celibacy was no longer the rule but the exception. In many cases priests lived in lawful wedlock, but in most cases in unlawful. Immorality stained and defiled the character of Church officials and Church members. The priesthood was drawn largely from the lower and illiterate classes. So illiterate were some of its members that they were incapable of writing or preaching a sermon. Liturgy was necessary, on the ground of expediency, to occupy the time of the congregation assembled. Superstition and debasing image worship were carried to extremes. Envy and jealousy amongst monks, priests, bishops, and all grades of Church officials were suffered without restraint. Everything was sacrificed to promotion and pleasure.

"Simony," or the purchase of position, had become notorious. The various posts and appointments in the Church were sold for money; the State claimed the disposal of these; avarice and greed stained the hand of pope and priest, of lord and vassal, as well as of emperor. The Church's wealth proved its ruin. The higher clergy held duchies and smaller territorial divisions, as well as rights connected with the customs, tolls, coinage of money, and the raising of soldiers; in fact, claims were advanced for half of all properties. So long, then, as the possession of a rich see meant a life of ease and influence, men would not scruple to purchase ecclesiastical preferment, nor would needy princes be loth to replenish their treasuries at the expense of such aspirants to power and affluence.

Every bishop received a ring and a staff from the Emperor. The ring, the symbol of his mystic marriage with the diocese, the staff, the sceptre of his spiritual sway, might

seem to belong exclusively to his holy function, but this investiture conveyed the right to the temporal possessions or endowments of the benefice. It assigned a local jurisdiction to the bishop; it was in one form the ancient consent of the laity to the spiritual appointment. It did not presume to consecrate, but permitted the consecrated person to execute his office in a certain defined sphere and under the protection and guarantee of the civil power. This was only the outward mark of allegiance—the acknowledgment of the secular supremacy, so far as the State or its feudal obligations were concerned. Indeed the king could create and destroy bishoprics at pleasure, not only as to temporal but also as to spiritual relation. From the coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III., some of the leading men in the Church aimed not merely at putting the Church on a par with the civil power, but also at making it superior. But the Romish Church always used as a leverage (and this is common with other Churches as well) acts and precedents of the far past—the further past the better. On this occasion some of the leading members felt that if they could find from Apostolic times, or as near these as possible, precedents to show the supreme power of the Church, it might help to lessen the effects of the claims put forth by the Emperor, but as they had no genuine document of this description, they thought they would manufacture some, and so we find springing up a number of those known as " False Decretals."

The author of these decretals boldly cited decrees purporting to emanate from a period as far back as that of Clement, second in succession from St. Peter himself. Although the forgeries were clumsy, the spurious character of the documents escaped detection in that uncritical age and for centuries after. The design of the decretals was twofold. The priesthood was declared to be inviolable and freed from secular control. Infringement of its personal or property rights was asserted to be

a sin against the ordinance of God. They declared that the validity and effect of the official acts of the clergy were regarded as in no wise dependent upon their personal character. To complete the hierarchical idea, the priesthood was looked upon as comprising definite grades of official dignity, and as rising through inferior clergy, priests, bishops, metropolitans, and primates to the successor of Peter, to whom every inferior might appeal, and without whose sanction no verdict was final. The most advanced pretensions ever propounded by the most ambitious pontiffs were here explicitly and systematically set forth in spurious letters and decrees to which the names of venerated bishops of the early Church were attached, and that, too, although their author must have lived at least five hundred years after these bishops and the date from which some of the documents professed to emanate.

These documents were broadly published. Their teaching was disseminated among priests and people, and through them largely the struggle between Church and State took form and gained strength. The Emperor claimed not only supreme civil power, but supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. Neither Pope nor bishop could be ordained without his sanction. On the other hand the tendency of the claim of the Church was that its head, the Pope, was invested with supreme power, not merely over its own affairs, that is, the spiritual affairs of the Church, but also over the civil affairs of the Empire.

But now another mighty personage appears upon the stage of Church activity. About the year 1010 A.D., there was being brought up in Tuscany a carpenter's son of very promising gifts. At an early age he became a monk in the convent of Cluny in Burgundy. His education in the monastic life, as well as the revulsion of his moral feeling against the corruptions around him, nourished within him an irrepressible desire to reform the Church.

In 1048 A.D., Bruno, a cousin of the Emperor, Henry III., was made Pope. He was persuaded by this young monk not to consider himself qualified to assume this office until he should be properly elected at Rome, and to travel thither in the garb of a pilgrim, thus practically disowning the right of the Emperor to appoint the head of the Church. The new Pope, Leo IX., took this advice and brought this sagacious monk with him as a sub-deacon. This zealous ecclesiastic was Hildebrand, from this time and for many years to come the leader of the reformed party in the Church of Rome.

During Leo's occupancy of the chair of St. Peter's, Hildebrand rapidly gained a commanding influence, and bent all his energies to the purification of the Church and the advancement of the Papal authority. He became the maker and practical ruler of three Popes, Stephen IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II. In the year 1073 A.D., Hildebrand himself became Pope under the name of Gregory VII. Although he accepted the office with reluctance, he brought to the administration of it unsurpassed vigour and sagacity. He renewed and redoubled his efforts in connection with the celibacy of the clergy, and in connection with simony. He forbade, on penalty of excommunication, the celebration of Mass or the conduct of divine worship by any ecclesiastics who lived in wedlock. They were to receive no portion of the Church revenues. The laity were requested not to be present at any meetings for worship conducted by such ecclesiastics. Thus the aid of the people was called in to help the decree of the Pope. Then came the struggle of his reign round the question of simony, and what to his mind was its chief source, the right of investiture. He proposed to depose all who got their position by money purchase, and to deprive all monarchs of the right of investiture by ring or staff. The effect of such proceedings would be that the Pope, who was supreme in ecclesiastical affairs, would

have the power over see and abbey property, which was thus transferred from the feudal supervision of the princes.

The most violent commotion in connection with these proposed reforms arose in Milan in the ancient Church of Ambrose. There the practice of simony had reached such a height that, for every spiritual office, a sum was paid proportionate to its value. The revolt grew in strength; nobles interested in investiture rebelled. These Gregory VII. excommunicated. The Emperor, Henry IV., favoured them, and he in turn became the object of the Pope's disapproval. The latter wrote him urging him to discountenance the cause of men under spiritual condemnation, and to obey the sacred decrees. This request he followed up by a summons to Rome to answer for his crimes. Failure to attend would be followed by excommunication. These acts of the Pope threw Henry into a passion. He caused Gregory to be deposed by the subservient imperial prelates assembled at Worms, sent "to Hildebrand, now no longer Pope but a false monk," a letter denying the right of the Papacy to judge the Emperor except for apostacy.

Henry was thus excommunicated with all the anathemas of the Papal chair. He was told that unless the excommunication was removed within a certain time he would be deposed. Meantime he was suspended. The majority of the clergy and laity of the Roman See sided with the Pope. On a dreary winter morning, snow covering the ground to a considerable depth, Henry, barefoot, and clad in the thin white linen dress of a penitent, appeared at the gate of Canossa to receive the Pope's absolution. For three days, in the snow and frost of January, the Emperor was kept unsheltered outside the gate waiting the pleasure of the haughty Pope. That the heir of a long line of Emperors should thus feel compelled to demean himself showed the power that the Papacy wielded, and showed the degradation to which Papal Rome reduced those who opposed her. Henry

was absolved but not without the deepest humiliation. He regained his power, made war against the Pope, besieged Rome, and deposed his enemy. The Pope did not long survive the victory of Henry. On the 25th May, 1085 A.D., he died at Salerno, with these words on his lips, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

Hildebrand was the greatest figure of his age, a man, considering the times, of much purer motives and higher aims than those associated with him. He attempted to translate the idea of Augustine in his *City of God* into actuality. Christ is King of kings over the spiritual and temporal sphere, the former embracing the latter. His representative, Peter, and his successors, are invested with this supreme authority. This claim put forth from the papal chair has never been and never can be made good. The civil power will not submit to be ruled by the spiritual until the coming of the millennium, when all sects are expected to disappear, and when the State being permeated by Christ's spirit and principles shall be one and the same with the spiritual power. When shall this be? The spiritual power ought not to be, nor shall it be subject in its own sphere to the civil power.

The great struggle between Hildebrand and the Roman Emperor turned on the question as to where the balance of power lay. The Emperor claimed not only supreme civil power, but in virtue of that power possessed by the grace of God, he further claimed the power of finally settling the appointment of Popes, that is, he claimed spiritual legislative jurisdiction. The Pope, Hildebrand, made the very opposite claim. In virtue of the spiritual function conferred on him by the grace of God, he asserted his right to exercise supreme civil jurisdiction. History and experience would seem to indicate that the Church and the State must be regarded each as supreme in

its own sphere. "No government," says the late Principal Cunningham of St. Andrews, "could admit such pretensions as those of Hildebrand, but even if such claims were conceded, it would not be good for the Church herself. It would constitute its General Assembly an irresponsible tyranny, amenable to no law but its own caprice."

CHAPTER X.

The Crusades.

The town of Piacenza in Italy, near the confluence of the Trebbia and the Po, the birthplace of Pope Gregory X., was in the year 1095 the scene of an enormous Assembly that no building could contain. The crowds accordingly met on a great plain outside the city. There were present bishops and abbots from all parts of Italy, France, Bavaria, Burgundy, and most parts of Germany. There were 3,000 of the clergy, and 30,000 of the laity. Pope Urban II. presided over this vast Assembly. In a fiery discourse, he described the importance of the city of Jerusalem in its bearing on the Christian faith, the insult and abuse which the residents of the place and the Christians resorting there, as pilgrims, were obliged to suffer; then he urged the Assembly to be zealous for the cause and glory of God, and, impelled by the love of Christ, to grasp the sword and turn against the enemies of the Christian faith the weapons which they had hitherto borne against Christians, and which they had stained with Christian blood.

From Italy, Pope Urban II. went to France, his native land, where he stirred up the spirit of the nation, and gathered great enthusiasm around his cause. Next year he marched in triumph into Italy and Rome, escorted by enormous crowds ready to set out for Palestine as soon as they had the Pope's blessing pronounced upon their undertaking. This was the first public official movement in the interest of the Crusades.

The vast subject of the Crusades, with all its causes and consequences, demands a place in the history of mediæval

Christianity, but must here be limited to an extent not commensurate with its importance. Pilgrimage may be considered as belonging to the universal religion of man; it has always been associated with the religion of Christianity. The objective reality connected with the places where the Saviour was born, lived, died, and rose from the dead, works upon the subjective faith in the Christian heart.

From the very earliest times the Holy Land was visited by Christian pilgrims, whose enthusiasm, kindled by extreme, though devout imagination, resulted in the supposed discovery of the sacred sepulchre, with all the marvellous legends of the Emperor's vision, and the disinterment of the true Cross, and in the magnificent church built over the sepulchre by the devout Helena and her son, Constantine.

During the early centuries, pilgrimage became a ruling passion: the lives of saints teem with accounts of their pious journeys. Itineraries were drawn out by which pilgrims might direct their way, from the banks of the Rhine to Jerusalem. Kings and princes and popes gave freely of their means to establish hospitals along the roads. Charlemagne ordered that through his whole realm the pilgrims were to be supplied at least with lodgings, fire, and water. In Jerusalem there were public caravansaries for their reception. The pilgrim that set forth amongst the blessings and prayers of his kindred, returned, if he returned at all, a privileged and, in some respects, a sanctified and sacred being. Pilgrimage expiated all sin. Bathing in the Jordan was a second baptism that washed away all the evil of a former life. In the Life of the famous Flora Macdonald, it is stated that she preserved for her shroud the sheets in which Prince Charles Edward slept in Kingsburgh House in Skye. The holy pilgrim carefully preserved the shirt which he had worn when he entered Jerusalem to be his winding sheet, believing it had the power of translating him to heaven.

At the close of the tenth century, there was a strong religious movement, which arose from an expectation of our Lord's second coming to judgment. Multitudes on this account crowded to Jerusalem. Although the Mohammedans were in possession of Palestine, they permitted the usual flow of pilgrims, exacting only a tax on entering the city, but, in 1010 A.D., there was a fierce persecution by Hakim, the fanatic Sultan of Egypt. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian buildings in Jerusalem were razed to the ground. But, after a time, he grew wearied or repented of his persecution, and permitted the pilgrims to resume their journeys unmolested. When the Turks, however, took possession of Palestine in the early part of the tenth century, Christian pilgrims were cruelly treated. Yet neither the tyranny nor the outrage perpetrated by these new lords of Palestine arrested the inexhaustible passion for pilgrimage. Year after year witnessed multitudes pursuing their weary course towards the Holy Land, but likewise witnessed a much smaller number returning, and the few that did return were no longer radiant with pious pride, were no longer rich in precious relics, but were stealing home famished, wounded, mutilated, with lamentable tales of their own sufferings, and of those who had died of the ill usage of the barbarian unbelievers.

At length the afflictions of the Christians found a voice which awoke indignant Europe—an apostle who could rouse warlike Latin Christendom to encounter with equal fanaticism the new outburst of the religion of Islam. That apostle was Peter the Hermit. Peter the Hermit visited in Jerusalem every spot of reputed holiness with deepest interest, till, with feelings keenly moved by the disrespect in which these places were held, and imagination roused almost to frantic vehemence, he determined to use every means in his power to relieve his fellow Christians from the Turkish yoke. The appearance of the Hermit was mean

and insignificant, but his speech was not by any means contemptible, for his fiery eloquence soon made all Europe ring with his fame. Having disclosed to Pope Urban II. his scheme for leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient to subdue those powerful and warlike nations that possessed and degraded the holy city, he was, by the act of the Pope, successful in rousing the crusading spirit throughout the countries of Christendom, and found himself in a short time at the head of an undisciplined multitude computed at 300,000 men. Having made no provision for their march, only 50,000 survived half the journey, and these discontinued their march, promising themselves to renew their pilgrimage on some future opportunity, and under more favourable conditions. Although Peter the Hermit was one of the 50,000, he makes but a very poor appearance in the history of this remarkable expedition.

The failure of the Hermit in this undertaking was owing to lack of forethought and discipline, as well as to lack of moral force. Many were obliged to confess that it was by no means pure enthusiasm for a work undertaken in the interest of Christianity that moved them to take part in it. That a great variety of motives prompted them there can be no doubt. Some had been awakened to repentance by the call to this holy warfare, out of a life stained with vices, and sought by joining the Crusaders to obtain the forgiveness of their sins. Others by this means sought to escape the civil punishment that threatened them for their crimes and debts, and many were borne along by the force of example and fashion.

Indeed the Hermit and the Pope preached such a Gospel as opened the flood gates for the worst and the vilest to join the Crusades. By participating in these Crusades, men might atone for all kinds of sin. "The wealth of your enemies," says Urban II., "shall be yours. Ye shall plunder their treasures. Ye serve a Commander who will not permit

his soldiers to want bread as a just reward for their services." The Pope offered absolution for all sins (there was no crime —murder, adultery, robbery—which might not be redeemed by this act of obedience to God), absolution without penance to all who would take up arms in the sacred cause. To those who fell in battle, or suffered death in any other way in the Holy Land or on their way to it, eternal life was promised. At death the Crusader passed at once into Paradise.

No wonder although an epidemic madness spread like wild fire. France, including both its Frank and Norman population, took the lead. Germany, Italy, and England followed. Indeed all the countries of Europe sent their contingents, either to increase the mixed multitudes which swarmed forth under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless, or the more regular army under Godfrey of Boulogne, and others. The Crusades were a war of Christians against Mohammedanism for a period of nearly two hundred years. Crusaders deluged the soil of Palestine with their blood and strewed the plains of Hungary and of Asia Minor with their bones. If we could calculate the waste of human life from first to last, a waste which achieved no enduring results, and if we could calculate all the misery inflicted in that loss of human life, it would seem the most wonderful frenzy that ever possessed mankind.

Godfrey of Boulogne, Hugh the Great, Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and Raymond, Count of Toulouse, were the most distinguished leaders of the first Crusade. When they reached the territory of the King of Hungary, the sight of the unburied corpses of the fanatic crowds that preceded them, under Peter the Hermit, appalled them. The matter was investigated by Godfrey. Explanations were given, and after expressions of mutual confidence on the part of the King of Hungary and Godfrey, the latter proceeded on his journey. He besieged and took the city of Nice. At

length the soldiers of the Cross, after a most tedious march, encamped before the walls of Jerusalem. With great joy, they renewed the oath that they had taken—"To deliver Jerusalem from the sacrilegious yoke of the Turks." The siege was a short but desperate one; the struggle was vigorous on both sides; victory was in the balance.

It is said that the besiegers were almost at the point of despair, when an incident occurred which decided the battle in favour of the Crusaders. A soldier of the Cross was seen on Mount Olivet waving a resplendent shield, and beckoning to his companions to follow. Who he was, or how he came there was unknown. It was taken by the fanatic soldiers as a sign from heaven to force the siege. A fierce attack was made once again, a breach was effected, and the whole army entered the longed-for city.

No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities as were committed on the capture of that city, and yet it is said that the very men who did this had fallen on their knees and burst into a pious hymn at the first view of the holy city. Murder was mercy, rape tenderness, and simple plunder the mere assertion of the conqueror's right. Children were seized by the legs, some of them plucked from their mothers' breasts, and dashed against the walls, or whirled from the battlements. Some were tortured, others roasted by slow fires, prisoners were ripped up to see if they had swallowed gold. Of the 70,000 Saracens in Jerusalem, not enough were left to bury the dead. What atrocities perpetrated in the name of religion! And yet when Godfrey was unanimously saluted as sovereign of the conquered realm, to the universal admiration, he refused to be king; he would only be administrator where the Saviour had been called a servant; he would wear no golden crown where the Redeemer had worn a crown of thorns.

Forty-six years elapsed before the beginning of the second

Crusade. During this time, the kingdom of Jerusalem, which at first consisted merely of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages of the adjacent country, was gradually extending, till eventually the empire of the Crusades embraced all that country of Palestine between the sea coast and the desert of Arabia, forming a territory of about sixty leagues in length and thirty in breadth, besides the principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa. During this short period of forty years, four sovereigns occupied the throne. The reigns of the first two were peaceful; not so the third and fourth. The Moslems were gradually gaining strength, till at last their crescents floated triumphantly from the walls of the Holy City. Intelligence of this event, accompanied with earnest entreaties for help, was sent to the states and courts of the West, which resulted in the second Crusade, in which Louis VII., King of France, took a most active part. The crusading army continued its march steadily, and successfully besieged and captured several cities till Damascus was reached. This city had been for nearly five centuries under the Moslem yoke. The Christians, eager to relieve it, pressed the siege with so much vigour that, in a short time, the fortifications were almost completely ruined. The final blow only remained to be given, when dissension broke out in the camp, which ended in the dispersion of all the Christian forces, and terminated the second Crusade.

This failure appeared for a time to extinguish the crusading spirit in Europe, till, roused by the expulsion of the Latin Christians from, and the thorough establishment of Turkish government under Saladin in, that place, whose very dust was looked upon with sacred veneration, the three countries of France, Germany, and England united, heart and hand, to lead a third Crusade. Its principal leaders were Frederick Barbarossa, Philip of France, and Richard, Cœur de Lion, of England. This one, like the former, reached almost the gates of the Holy City, but did not enter.

Richard, the bravest of the three, would probably have taken Jerusalem, but, on account of civil war at home, he was obliged to leave the scene of action.

There was less of religious sentiment in the third Crusade than in the former two. Richard was impelled to undertake it, more by his indomitable enthusiasm for war and adventures than by any considerations of piety, and his royal compeers were more or less under the same influence. The heroes of the third Crusade are more apt to excite surprise than to inspire esteem, and seem to belong less to history than to the domain of chivalry. The results were small, as far as the recovery of the Holy Land was concerned. Its grand object was certainly not accomplished, but still the total ruin of the Latin kingdom was averted, the tide of Mussulman conquest was checked, and the Christian territory was preserved for other eight years. The chief result, however, was the martial fame of its great hero, whose name was a bugbear for a century in the East, so that when women would terrify their children, it was sufficient to tell them that Richard was coming.

The fourth Crusade was an entirely secular expedition, as may be gathered from the fact that the armies never went to Palestine, preferring to settle down in the Byzantine Empire, which they had conquered, and to choose Baldwin, Count of Flanders, for their king.

The fifth Crusade was conducted by Frederick II. of Germany in 1228, and terminated in a treaty between the Sultan of Egypt and that monarch, who, after being crowned King of Jerusalem, returned to Europe, leaving his new possessions in a state of tranquillity. This tranquillity, however, did not last long, for the Turks broke into Syria, and once more the Holy Land was in the hands of infidels. There followed the sixth Crusade, whose leader was Louis IX. of France (afterwards St. Louis). Louis' expedition proved unsuccessful; his forces were defeated by

the Sultan of Egypt, and himself taken prisoner. By the payment of a large ransom shortly after, he obtained his liberty, and on his return to Europe, was recognised as St. Louis.

The seventh and last Crusade was undertaken by Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. of England. His expedition produced no real permanent results. Within less than thirty years, the whole of Palestine and Syria became the possessions of the Sultans of Egypt. One place after another was captured by the Saracens, and at last Acre, the stronghold of the Christians, was besieged and taken. The last vestige of the Christian power in Syria was now swept away, and a "mournful and solitary silence prevailed along that coast which had so long resounded to the world's debate."

The influence of the Crusades is a subject on which great diversity of opinion prevails. On the one hand, it has been maintained that they were positively injurious, and productive of no benefits. On the other hand, their evils have been totally overlooked, and good alone has been recognised. There can be little doubt that the immediate influence of these strange expeditions was for the most part injurious. The great and general convulsion which they occasioned must have been attended by many evils. It must not, however, be forgotten that the immediate effects and the ultimate results of any series of events do not always correspond. In what is now transpiring, evil unmixed with good may alone be apparent. Nevertheless, fruits may hereafter be reaped, on account of which there may be the most abundant occasion for gratification and thankfulness. It is, therefore, to general and ultimate results we must look.

It is generally, if not universally, acknowledged that the holy wars were beneficial in their results. Gibbon says: "The tide of civilisation, which had so long ebbed, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course, and a fairer

prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generations. Great and rapid was the increase of civilisation during the two hundred years of the Crusades."

1. The first grand and permanent result was the awakening of mind. Prior to the Crusades, Europe was in a state of mental torpor. Ignorance was great and general. Even Kings and Emperors had scarcely acquired the art of reading. Science was almost exclusively confined to the cloisters. The mind of the people quietly slumbered. The Crusades aroused it. They were the sound of a trumpet to a sleeping host.

2. A further result was a general extension of ideas. In their progress towards the Holy Land, the followers of the Cross marched through countries better cultivated, and more cultured than their own, such as Italy, in which Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and other cities had begun to apply themselves to commerce, and had made some advances towards wealth and refinement. A special rendezvous was Constantinople. It was the most beautiful city in Europe, and the only one in which there remained any image of the ancient elegance in manners and art.

3. The extension of commerce was an undoubted effect of the Crusades. Genoa, Venice, and Pisa furnished the transports in which the crusading parties that proceeded to Palestine by sea embarked. The Crusaders also contracted with them for military stores and provisions, and Constantinople, already said to be the finest city in Europe, was taken by them and one of their leaders placed on the imperial throne. Many branches of commerce that centred in this city were transferred to other countries. The Crusaders on their return brought with them, from Asia to Europe, specimens of the products of these strange and splendid regions, and the exhibition of these excited a general desire to possess them. Thus, new wants were created, the spirit of commerce was awakened, and the influence which had been opened by

the Crusades was, after the war, continued in order to gratify the demands of the opulent.

Nor did the Crusades fail to effect a most marked modification in the constitution of society. Their influence may be traced in many important respects. Under the feudal system, the Kings of Europe were hardly more, except in name, than feudal barons, and in some cases their nobles were more powerful than themselves. The Crusades, in multiplying the crown lands, extended the authority of royalty. The nobles who assumed the Cross, and bound themselves to march to the Holy Land, soon perceived that great sums of money were necessary towards defraying the expense of such a distant expedition. Taxes were imposed for levying the sums requisite. The landlord sold his possessions at the lowest price, relinquished his ancient inheritance without any reluctance, that he might sally forth as adventurer in quest of new settlements in unknown countries. The monarchs of the great kingdoms of the West took advantage of these circumstances to add many territories to their crown lands at small expense. Several barons who perished in the holy war, having left no heirs, their fiefs reverted to their respective sovereigns. Besides this, the absence of many potent vassals afforded them an opportunity of extending their prerogative and acquiring a degree of weight in the constitution which they did not formerly possess, all which combined to introduce a more steady administration of justice, and to make some advances towards the establishment of regular government in the several kingdoms of Europe.

The influence of the Crusades was not confined to kings and crowns. Every order of society may be said to have derived important benefits. They advanced the importance of the towns, which had hitherto been trampled on by feudal tyranny and oppression. Commerce was extended, and great boroughs, such as the towns of Italy and Flanders, were

created. The feudal lords, on their return from Palestine, were, through their impoverished circumstances, forced to manumit their dependants for a small consideration, while every serf who took up the Cross was declared free. In this manner we see that the Crusades resulted in the more ample development of the middle rank of society, and the filling up of that wide chasm which had hitherto existed between the higher and the lower classes. However, therefore, the Crusades may have failed of their ostensible object, and whatever estimate we may form of the expeditions themselves, their influences have not been inconsiderable. They constitute an important link, which connects the present advanced position of society with the ignorance, the disorderly, and disorganised existence of the Middle Ages.

"In France, they favoured the growth of monarchy at the expense of a turbulent and powerful aristocracy. In England, they favoured the growth of liberty at the expense of absolute monarchy. In Germany, they accelerated the decline of an empire with an elective head. They depressed the aristocracy whilst they encouraged the industry and enterprise of the towns, enabling them at the same time to secure independence. In Italy, if they failed to mitigate the political evils with which the country was unhappily cursed, they gave new stimulus to commerce and navigation, enriched the mercantile republics, which then monopolised the trade of the East, and gradually paved the way for discoveries which have since produced the most striking effects on the destinies of mankind. And lastly, in Spain, they powerfully contributed to the deliverance of that peninsula from the yoke of the Saracens, and gave rise to the enfranchisement of the towns, and the measures which signalised the decline of the feudal system and of the absolute authority of the sovereign in that country."

Navigation and commerce were already said to have made rapid progress. Architecture was also greatly improved.

The sight of the edifices and monuments of the East excited wonder and awakened a spirit of emulation, so that science and art made rapid advance. A college of young Greeks was established in Paris. The universities of Bologna, Paris, and Salamanca were founded in the thirteenth century. Greek and Latin literature began to be eagerly studied, and the general mind to be expanded in no small degree. It may be with confidence affirmed that the dawn of learning in the fifteenth century and the eagerness with which the doctrines of Luther and other reformers were embraced, the outburst of literature in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the advancement of the science and arts up to the present day, may be to a great extent attributed to the awakening of mind and the general search after new discoveries and inventions during the wars of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XI.

The Constitutional and Advanced Leaders in the Twelfth Century Church.

Christianity, it is of interest to know, had a footing in China in the eleventh century. A celebrated missionary, John de Monte Carvino, laboured with great success in Pekin for eleven years. With a view to educating the children, and training up missionaries from among the people themselves, he translated the New Testament into the Tartar language. Over this community he was made archbishop by Clement V. At the same time Nestorian missionaries penetrated into Northern Asia, and were the means of converting a prince of the Mongols, that large and powerful nation. This prince was known as Prestyr John, and, although fabulous legends descend to us of his greatness, there can be no doubt as to the remarkable influence he exerted in favour of Christianity. St. Francis of Assisi accompanied one of the Crusades in common with many other missionaries, and preached the Gospel with considerable success amongst the Mohammedans. But missionary efforts could not well be combined with warlike aims, nor could Christianity be much recommended by the lives of the Crusaders.

Waldemar I., King of Denmark, acquired immortal fame by his victories over the Slavonians, Venedi and Vandals, now comprehending Russia, Austria, Turkey, Prussia, and Saxony, with a population of about seventy millions. He used his influence on behalf of Christianity, and "wherever his armies were successful, he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste

their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship." It is needless to say that the savage nations thus dragooned into the Christian Church became the disciples of Christ not so much in reality as in appearance. The pure and rational religion of the Gospel was never presented to these unhappy peoples in its native simplicity, and when an opportunity presented itself they relapsed into their heathen worship. It is, however, difficult to say how far God may have used such rough methods for the extension and propagation of Christianity in these dark ages. Either by the sword or by the self-denying efforts of many pious monks and priests, the Gospel had penetrated more or less by the eleventh century into all the countries of the world. But we have only the loose fringes of the Christian Church in the vast kingdoms of the East, and in the outlying countries of the West. To know something of its real condition and influence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries we must confine our attention to it as it existed in Germany, France, Italy, and England. In these countries it was deeply rooted, and, like an upas tree, was to be seen spreading its branches far and wide, creating and constituting the history of these nations.

The wars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were very different from modern and ancient wars. They were carried on between the Church and the State, between Papacy and the Empire. The Emperors in the tenth century claimed the right of disposing of every vacant see within their realm, either gratis to their favourites, or at great price to those who were anxious to secure them. While this was a source of revenue to the Emperors, it was a source of weakness and corruption to the Church. Several efforts were made by the Church to deprive the Emperors of this power, which is supposed to have been introduced by Otho the Great. When a bishop or abbot died, those who looked upon themselves as authorised to fill up the vacancy, elected immediately some-

one of their order in place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The prince was thus deprived of his privilege and profit. Examples of this kind of stratagem abound in the Church records of the tenth century. The Emperors, perceiving this artful management of affairs, took means of rendering ineffectual the efforts of these priests, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose, they ordered that, as soon as a bishop expired, his ring and crosier should be transmitted to the prince to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. Without the ring and crosier, no bishop could be consecrated, and no election could be valid. As soon, therefore, as a bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the governor of the province, seized upon his ring and crosier and sent them to Court. In the eye of the Church, this was an intrusion of a most desecrating character. She shuddered to think that that staff which denotes the Heavenly Shepherd, and that ring which seals the divine mysteries, or which was the emblem of a nuptial bond between the bishop and the see—deposited in the bosom of the Episcopal order—should be polluted by the unhallowed touch of a civil magistrate, and that Emperors and princes, by presenting them to their favourites, should thereby usurp the prerogative of the Church, and exercise the pastoral authority and power. This investiture by the Emperor by ring and crosier became a burning question in the days of Gregory VII.—Hildebrand—and the struggle it occasioned between the Church and the State lasted for a hundred years. This struggle was fiercest between Henry IV. and Henry V. and Popes Gregory, Urban, and Paschal. At one time we find the Emperor conquering and humbling the Pope, at another the Pope conquering and humbling the Emperor.

Matilda, the most powerful princess in Germany, played a most important part in this struggle. The Emperor

and the Pope sued, alternately, her patronage and support. It is not uncommon to find the Emperor at one time leading an armed force against her to crush her, at another calling her by the endearing term of mother to win her favour. By the influence of the Pope, Matilda, who was over fifty, was induced to enter into a marriage relationship with a young prince of eighteen, in order to establish a connection with a powerful house whose interest would be opposed to the Emperor. In a few years, when the object aimed at was gained, and the princess had no longer any political use for her young husband, she found it quite convenient, with the sanction of the Pope, to give him his liberty, which neither he nor his father was willing to accept, for, if she married him for convenience sake to get the powerful influence of his father's house, he married her to secure an heirdom to her large dominions.

There was nothing too violent or outrageous for the Emperor to say or do against the Pope, and yet he would kiss his feet when it suited his purpose, and thus acknowledge his superior claims. On the other hand, the Pope did not shrink from the meanest and most miserable intrigues. He actually used his influence to turn the Emperor's family against him, and he succeeded in making his son, Absalom-like, revolt against his father. The diabolical conduct of Henry, afterwards Henry V., against his aged father was instigated by the Pope, who claimed to be at the same time the vicar of Christ. One can scarcely regard it as other than a just retribution that the same Pope, Paschal II., was conquered, imprisoned, and humiliated by this his protege, Henry V. It is difficult to say of the Emperors or the Popes which were the most tenacious of what they claimed as their rights. The former insisted upon the right of appointing bishops and abbots. The latter insisted not only upon appointing these, but upon crowning Emperors. During this struggle, rival Popes were set up by the

Emperors whose terms they accepted. The Emperors were backed by a large proportion of their subjects—bishops, abbots, and priests in all the countries of Germany, Italy, France, and England, but very specially in Germany and Italy. For about a hundred years these two rival Popes occupied the chair of St. Peter at the same time, each according to his own principle. No wonder they do not seem to have been very comfortable. Considering the character of many of these Popes, and indeed of almost all of them, it is somewhat difficult to see how the Apostolic succession and Apostolic virtue could descend through any of them, to say nothing about it descending through the two who occupied the chair at the same time.

The contest of the two Popes was brought to a close when, in 1176, after two years' struggle, Frederick was beaten at the battle of Legnano. He bore his misfortune with dignity, recognised Alexander III. as Pope, and concluded a truce with the Lombards. The scene at Venice, when Frederick fell at the feet of Alexander, and was raised by him to receive the kiss of peace, was hardly less striking than the meeting of Henry IV. and Hildebrand one hundred years before at Canossa. Its real significance as betokening the strength of the Papacy was far greater.

A double Papal election had been one of the most remarkable features of the conflict now brought to a peaceful conclusion. Another Schism might prove disastrous to the Papacy. To avoid such a calamity, a decree was passed which provided that the votes of two thirds of the cardinals should be sufficient to elect a candidate for the Papal office. Frederick, the great adversary of Papal absolutism, was drowned accidentally in a small river in Pisidia in 1196.

Two brothers of the noble house of Molesme were riding armed through a wild desert in Colon, on their way to a neighbouring tournament. Suddenly in the mind of each rose the awful thought—What if I should murder my

brother, and secure the whole of our inheritance? The strong power of love, of virtue, and religion wrestled down in each the dark temptation. Some years after, the two brothers passed again the same dreary road; the recollection of their former trial came back upon their minds. They shuddered at once at the fearful power of the tempter. They hastened to confess themselves to a holy hermit. They then communicated to each other their dreadful thoughts. They determined to abandon the world, and to devote their lives to God who had saved them from such appalling sin. So there arose at Molesme a small community which rapidly became a monastery. In this monastery, in a few years, arose dissensions. Of the dissentients, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, sought a more complete solitude in a desert place in Burgundy. There he founded the famous Monastery of Citeaux. Odo, the mighty Duke of Burgundy, the first patron of the new monastery, had died in the Holy Land. His body he desired to rest in the humble chapel of Citeaux, to be blessed by the prayers of the holy monks. In after ages Citeaux was the burying place of the Dukes of Burgundy, but its glory and its power rose not from the tombs of these noble dukes, but from the entrance of the loving St. Bernard within its walls.

Lecetim Bernard was born in Burgundy in 1091. His father was a man of bravery, unimpeachable honour and justice. His mother, Alith, was of high birth, a model of devotion and charity. Bernard was the third of six brothers; he had one sister. He was a thoughtful, studious, and gentle youth. His mother's death confirmed the influence of her life on Bernard. To this youth of high birth, beautiful person, graceful manner, and irresistible influence, the best position in the Court or in the Church was open. The Court would have given him the highest honour, and the Church her most powerful bishopric and her wealthiest abbey. But with determination he closed his eyes to both, and with equal

determination he mastered his passions. When on one occasion he was tempted to violate his conscience by wrong-doing, he plunged himself, says his biographer, to the neck into a pool of cold water.

He resolved to enter the poorest, most inaccessible, and austere monastery. He fixed on Citeaux, and entered it, accompanied by thirty followers attached to his person, all equally resolute in the renunciation of secular life. One after another of his brothers followed his example, till they all but one resolved to enter the monastic life. This one, Nivard by name, was thus addressed by his elder brother: "To you remains the whole patrimony of our house." The boy replied, "Earth to me and heaven to you; that is no fair partition." He lingered a short time with his aged father, then joined the rest. Even his father died a monk in Bernard's arms. "The persuasive eloquence of this monk was marvellous. When he was to preach, wives hurried away their husbands, mothers withdrew their sons, friends their friends, from the resistless magic of his appeal. He was not more distinguished for his eloquence than for his prayers and self-denial. He laboured with the hardest labourers, discharged the most menial offices, was everybody's slave; the more degrading the office, the more acceptable to Bernard." The monastery of Citeaux became too small for the multitude of its votaries. Bernard founded a new monastery amongst the poorest and most savage class of people, and in the most barren spot of land he could find. This monastery he called by the musical name of Clairvaux. At the gate of Clairvaux one day appeared his only sister —who was nobly married—in great state, and with a splendid retinue. She was spurned from the door as a sinner. "If I am a sinner," she meekly replied, "I am one of those for whom Christ died, and have the greater need of my brother's kindly counsel. Command, I am ready to obey." Bernard was moved. He adjured her to renounce

all her worldly pomp. Humbaline, his sister, devoted herself to fasting and prayer, and at length retired into a convent.

Bernard's reputation soon rose so high that, in 1128, he was employed by the Grand Master of the Templars to draw out the statutes of their order. But he became particularly distinguished in supporting the claim of Pope Innocent II. against those of his rival, Anaclete, a rich Jew, one of the Popes set up by the Emperors to whom reference has already been made. Bernard could boast that Innocent, chiefly through his influence, was acknowledged by the Kings of France, England, Spain, and by the Emperor. The influence of Bernard over-ruled the advice of the English prelates, and brought Henry I. of England to the feet of Innocent. "Thou fearest," said Bernard to Henry II., "the sin of acknowledging Innocent. Answer thou for thine other sins, be that upon my head." Bernard persuaded the King and the nobility of France to enter on the second Crusade in 1146. On this occasion, he went so far as to claim inspiration, and to prophesy the success of the undertaking. It proved a complete failure, and a torrent of execration was poured upon the head of St. Bernard. The last act of his career was his mediation between the people of Mainz and some neighbouring princes. On his return to his convent, he fell ill and died in 1153. He was canonised in 1174 by Pope Alexander III. Luther says of him, "If there ever lived on earth a God-fearing and holy monk, it was St. Bernard of Clairvaux."

On December 20th, 1170, the Archbishop of Canterbury, while on duty in that ancient Cathedral, was attacked by four assassins. They tried to drag him outside the sacred building, but he clung to a pillar near the high altar, grappled with one of the assailants, and almost threw him down. Another aimed a blow which slightly wounded the Archbishop, and broke the crown of his cross-bearer. Seeing

that self-defence was useless, the Archbishop, putting himself in a devout position, resigned himself to his fate. The blows of the other assassins clove his skull, and scattered his brains over the pavement. That unfortunate victim was the well-known Thomas à Becket, or Thomas Becket. Thomas Becket fought as zealously on behalf of the Church under Pope Alexander III. as Bernard did under Innocent II.

Becket was the son of a London merchant, a distinguished student of Oxford and Paris. He rose into notice as a lawyer, and was created Chancellor of Henry II. in 1158. He became the King's greatest favourite. "The world never saw two friends so thoroughly of one mind as the King and him" (Roger de Pontigny). In 1162 he was created Archbishop of Canterbury, very much with the view of supporting the King in what appears to have been a most laudable measure of government. It seems that the clergy of those days were so immoral and reckless in their character that they were frequently accused of the most serious crime, but they were shielded by the Church against being interfered with by the court. The King of England wished to subject the clergy to the authority of the civil courts for murder, felony, and other similar crimes. And was he not right in this? Yet Thomas à Becket opposed him, and the Pope opposed him. It was the revival in England of the old struggle of the State against the supremacy of the Church in civil matters. By a strong hand, Becket was induced to sign the "Constitutions of Clarendon," which were drawn up to bring back the clergy under the jurisdiction of the realm. Becket repented of having signed the "Constitutions." From being a luxurious courtier, he became a "monkish ascetic." He could not, however, give up at once all his luxuries. When on one occasion partaking of a pheasant set before him at the common table of the monks, he said to a companion at the table who took offence, "Truly, my

brother, if I do not mistake, thou eatest thy beans with much more relish than I do my pheasant." Through his opposition to King Henry, he was obliged to flee to France, but by the intercession of the King of France and the Pope, he was allowed to resume his duties in England. While he did so, he resumed also his bitter opposition to the King, and it was this opposition that led to his assassination. The King's complaints of his insolence were heard by some of his attached nobles, who, without his instigation or knowledge, accomplished the deed. It was his faithfulness to the laws of the Church, even while these laws violated the dictates of common sense, as they did on this occasion, that was the cause of his death. Specially for his opposition to Henry in his praiseworthy effort to punish crime in the clergy as well as in the laity was Thomas à Becket canonized. And is it for this he is regarded as a martyr? Is it for this he occupies a prominent place among the bishops through whom the Church of England traces her Apostolic succession?

In Bernard and Becket we have two representative leaders in the Popish Church of the twelfth century —two representative leaders at home and abroad—able, remarkable men, but men who were not prepared to receive light, much less to search for it, men who were determined to abide by the tyranny of the Church at all hazards, men who frowned upon every honest attempt at independent thinking, men who stifled rather than encouraged any tendency towards reform, and men who, had they and their followers got their will, would have strangled all the efforts of those who unconsciously were breaking up the way for the advent of the Reformation. These men may be regarded as the constitutional leaders of the twelfth century Church.

At the close of the eleventh, and the beginning of the

twelfth centuries, Canterbury was famous as the scene of the labours of such great theologians as Lanfranc and Anselm. The latter, a great scholar, was an Italian by birth. He was monk at Bec in Normandy previous to his exaltation to the See of Canterbury. Anselm was one of a few leaders of the intellectual movement of this age. Animated by a devout and reverent spirit, and possessing a powerful and vigorous intellect, he made a strenuous attempt to establish a religious philosophy, and has been termed the Augustine of the Middle Ages. His writings exercised a powerful influence over Christian theology, an influence that has not yet passed away. The theory of the Atonement propounded by Augustine and developed by Anselm is still accepted by most of the Reformed Churches. "It is strange that the thought that suggested itself to the mind of the monk at Bec should still be the problem of metaphysical theology—and theology must, when followed out, become metaphysical—metaphysics must become theological. This same thought, with no knowledge of its mediæval origin, forced itself on Descartes, was reasserted by Leibnitz, if not rejected, was thought insufficient by Kant, was revised in another form by Schelling and by Hegel, and latterly was discussed with singular fullness and ingenuity by Mons. de Rèmusat."

Abelard, one of Anselm's students, became his great rival. This remarkable man had the most powerful and acute mind of his age. His school of philosophy and theology gained a world-wide renown. Nineteen cardinals, more than fifty bishops—French, English, and Italian—were trained in his school; upwards of five thousand students were in the habit of attending his lectures. He was accused of heresy by the famous Bernard, condemned by the Pope, and obliged to burn all his books and to cease teaching. This he did for a season. The history of his intellectual and philosophical

life is largely lost, owing to the destruction of his books. That of his controversial is bound up in his relation to Bernard, while the history of his romance, sorrow, and disgrace, is associated with Heloise, one of the most constant and noble of women.

Arnold of Brescia was a hearer of Abelard, a pupil in his revolutionary theology and revolutionary philosophy. He himself aspired to a complete revolution in civil affairs. He was called Abelard's armour-bearer. He was far in advance of his age, and with great vehemence and eloquence, declared the worldliness and luxury of the clergy. He maintained that the Church should not traffic in property, that the bishops should have no dominion and the abbots no land, that the clergy should return to the simplicity of the Apostles, that the Church should be supreme, not in the temporal sphere, but in the spiritual only. Arnold attempted to revive the old republican form of government in Rome, independent of the Pope. He succeeded for ten years, when the attempt was brought to an end by Frederick I. Arnold was apprehended in Zurich, whither he had fled and where he sowed the seed of the Reformation. He was condemned to death in Rome, his body was burnt, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. But the fire he kindled, the movement he led alongside of his master, Abelard, against the old fetish and traditional doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, did not end with his death. It was the morning star that appeared in the midst of mediæval darkness, the star that preceded the dawn of Reformation times. In 1882, in his native town in Italy, after seven hundred and nine years had transpired, his countrymen erected a monument as a high tribute of respect to his memory, and a mark of appreciation of his noble service in the cause of independence of thought and liberty of conscience. Anselm, and especially Abelard and Arnold, were

prominent leaders of the advanced party in the Church of the twelfth century, leaders who did noble service towards intellectual and theological reform; leaders who sowed that seed which yielded an abundant harvest in the Reformation under Luther, a harvest, the benefits of which are reaped to-day over the whole of Protestant Christendom.

CHAPTER XII.

Francis of Assisi.

The first sixteen years of the thirteenth century Church gather their greatest interest and power round the name of Pope Innocent III. Innocent was a most imposing personality, second in ability in high Church aims and in general influence to none of his predecessors, not even to Hildebrand himself. His claim for the Church was that of absolute irresponsible autocracy. "The essential inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of Christ over Cæsar, as of God over man," was, according to the Pope, an integral part of Christianity.

Innocent was an Italian by birth, of the noble family of Conti, a family that prided itself on rearing nine Popes and thirteen cardinals. Lothaire, for such was Innocent's Christian name, was the youngest of four brothers. His early education at Rome was completed by some years of study at Paris—the great school of theology—and at Bologna, that of law. He bore the highest character for erudition and for irreproachable manners.

Lothaire succeeded Pope Celestine III. in 1198, when only thirty-seven years old, almost an unprecedented age for a Pope. The unmeasured assertion of his dignity which he made in his inaugural address, and the protestation of humility sounded more of pride than of godliness. "Ye see," he said, "what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over His people, no other than the vice-regent of Christ, the successor of Peter; he stands in the midst between God and man, below God, above man, less than

God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written, I will judge."

Never was any season so favourable to the aggrandisement of the Pope, never could his aggrandisement appear a greater blessing to the world. All over Christendom there appeared disorders, contested thrones, sovereigns oppressing their subjects, subjects in arms against their sovereigns—the ruin of the Christian cause. Every realm seemed ready to invite the interposition, the mediation of the head of Christendom. Nor did Innocent shrink from taking advantage of his position, and very soon his influence was felt from the Jordan to the Atlantic, and from the Mediterranean to beyond the Baltic. The reign of eighteen years saw brought in succession to his feet, Rome, Italy, the German Empire, France, England, Spain, the northern kingdoms of Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Empire of the East.

Innocent believed in the most exalted ideas of Papal prerogative. He believed that Christ gave to the successor of Peter authority, not only over the Church, but over the world; that the crowns of kings and destinies of nations were lodged in his hands by a Divine decree. On this belief he acted, and he saw it realised to an unprecedented degree. Neither France nor England, with all their boasted independence, was able to resist the pressure of the iron heel of Innocent III.

Philip Augustus was the most ambitious, unscrupulous, and able man who had wielded the sceptre of France. Previous to his departure to the Holy Land on Crusade service in 1191, his wife, Isabella of Hainault, died. After his return, he determined on a second marriage. His connection with the King of Denmark led him to ask the hand of his sister, the fair-haired Ingeburga. The request was granted, supplemented with a rich dowry. The marriage was celebrated, it was said, on the night of her arrival at Amiens. Next morning, during the coronation, it was

evident that the King contracted an unconquerable disgust towards the Queen. He proposed to send her back to Denmark. She refused. The bishop of Rheims granted him decree of divorce. When the humiliating tidings were brought to Ingeburga, she understood but imperfectly, for she could scarcely speak a word of French, she cried, "Wicked, wicked France. Rome, Rome!" Her appeal to Rome was not in vain. Meanwhile, Philip married Agnes, the beautiful daughter of Bertholdt, Duke of Meran. Agnes of Meran, by her fascinating manner and exquisite beauty, won the heart of all France, but Pope Innocent's response to the appeal of Ingeburga disturbed the peace and happiness of this second and unlawful marriage. Philip was threatened that, unless he received back his lawful wife, his kingdom would be placed under an interdict, an interdict which would suspend all sacred offices except the baptism of infants and the absolution of the dying. Philip refused to obey the Papal command.

The interdict was accordingly served. "The working of an interdict," writes one who saw it, "is a most horrible and pitiable spectacle in all our cities. At midnight, the priests, holding torches in their hands, chanted the Miserere and prayers for the dead, the last prayers which were to be uttered by the clergy of France during the interdict. The Crosses everywhere were veiled with black crape; the reliques were replaced within the tombs; the Host was consumed; all religious offices ceased for the time being; there was no access to heaven by prayer or offering." To see the doors of the churches watched, and Christians driven away from them like dogs, the bodies of the dead not admitted to Christian burial was too much for a people that attached such great importance to the ritual and services of the Church. They rebelled. The King became more infuriated. He let the soldiers loose upon the ecclesiastics who dared to obey the Pope before their King. The Pope

reserved to the last his sentence of excommunication. It came like a thunderbolt, and constrained Philip to yield. He was obliged to part with his beloved Agnes of Meran, and to receive back his lawful wife, Ingeburga. At this instant the clanging of bells proclaimed the raising of the interdict. The curtains were drawn from the images; the doors of the churches flew open; the multitudes streamed in to satiate their pious desires which had been suppressed for seven months. Thus the haughty monarch of France had humbly to acknowledge himself the obedient servant of the Pope.

The See of Canterbury was to be filled by the favourite of King John of England, John de Gray. The Pope appointed Langton, an old fellow student. King John regarded it as an insult that a man utterly unknown to him should be elected by the Pope as primate of England. The Pope, however, sent the King a ring with a pearl of great value, for he knew King John's weakness for jewellery, but this did not appease the irate monarch. He wrote the Pope in indignation, threatened to withdraw from Rome all his support, dwelling at the same time upon the large revenue that the Pope drew from England. Innocent still continued, against the remonstrances of King John, to recommend Langton as a wise man, a scholar, and an Englishman by birth, and therefore most suitable for the position of primate. Innocent proceeded with slow and determined measures. England, like France, he placed under an interdict, only to make the King rage all the more. By the King's orders, the bishops and priests were to quit the realm. It was added that they might seek justice from the Pope. When a robber was brought before the King, and found guilty of having robbed and slain a priest, John ordered his release, saying, "He has rid me of an enemy." For four years John defied the awful effects of the interdict. At last, after the nobles had turned against the King, the Pope gave his final blow of excom-

munication. John yielded, for the people could no longer support the King under the curse of the Church, so great was the Church's influence over them. John now as cringing and terrified as before he had been proud and despotic, humbled himself in the dust, and not only acquiesced in the election of Langton as primate of England, but placed his kingdom and crown at the feet of the Papal legate, Pandulf, and received them back from his hands as a Papal fief, undertaking to pay twice a year the tribute imposed. In 1214, the English nobles extorted from their cowardly tyrant, as a safeguard against lordly wilfulness and despotism, the famous Magna Charta, their charter of liberty. In this they were supported by the primate, Langton. The Pope protested. At the famous fourth Lateran Council of 1215, more than 1,500 prelates from all the countries of Christendom, along with ambassadors of almost all Christian kings, princes, and free cities, gave the Pope homage as the representative of God on earth, as the visible head of the Church, and as the supreme lord and judge of all princes and peoples. Innocent died on the 16th July, 1216. Although he did not indulge in extravagance and luxuries, he gave freely on behalf of the poor and the Crusades. He was the father of the widows and orphans, a true friend, and sometimes a peace-maker between princes and their subjects.

When the head of the Church claimed all temporal and spiritual power, when he seemed to possess the former, it might be expected that the wealth and luxury of the priesthood should grow apace. Bishops were princes, abbots held the fattest of the land, the various orders of the lower clergy indulged in luxury, and many of them wallowed in the sin of immorality. No doubt the routine of Church services continued unimpaired, but it was executed in a spirit of condescension and formality. The services of the bishops were more in theory than in practice. They had neither

the gift nor the inclination to preach in the cathedrals, and so numerous were their worldly and warlike engagements, that they had no time.

The Church as a whole was a gigantic worldly system. Its livings and posts of service were in the main enjoyed by men whose aims were purely secular, who regarded the Church simply as a means of living, and had, therefore, no heart in its services. Like priests like people, the daily and weekly worship was sullen. The congregation gathered, knelt, performed their orisons, or heard the customary chants and prayers, but there was no faith in their priesthood, neither was there faith in God. Spiritual death, the accompaniment of spiritual pride, of a worldly spirit, and of an impure life, covered the land like a funeral pall. The high ecclesiastics were the moderates of those days, who claimed the monopoly of all that was best and aristocratic both in this world and in the next.

About the year 1210, Innocent III. was walking on the terrace of the Lateran, when a mendicant of the meanest appearance presented himself, proposing to convert the world by poverty and humility. The haughty Pope dismissed him with contempt. But after thought and better counsel and fuller information, the mendicant was given an audience by the Pope and his cardinals. Much sympathy was expressed with the proposed mission, but no support was promised, nor yet any specific sanction given, whereupon the mendicant delivered himself of the following parable. "There was in the desert a woman that was very poor, but beautiful. A great King, seeing her beauty, desired to take her for his wife. The marriage was contracted and consummated, and many sons were born to him. When they were grown up, their mother spoke to them thus: 'My sons, you have no cause to blush, for you are the sons of the King. Go, therefore, to his Court, and he will give you every thing you need.' When they arrived at the Court, the King admired

their beauty, and asked, 'Whose sons are you?' and they replied that they were the sons of a poor woman who lived in the desert. The King clasped them to his heart with joy, saying, 'Have no fear, for you are my sons. If strangers sit at my table, much more you who are my lawful sons!' Then the King sent word to the woman to send to his Court all the sons which she had borne, that they might be nourished there. Very holy father," added the mendicant, "I am the poor woman whom God in His love has deigned to make beautiful, and of whom He has been pleased to have lawful sons. The King of kings has told me that He will provide for all sons which He may have of me, for if He sustains bastards, how much more his legitimate sons." So much simplicity, joined with such pious obstinacy, at last conquered Innocent. In the humble mendicant he perceived an apostle and prophet, whose mouth no power could close. The poor priest and his friends got the sanction of the Pope to preach. "Go, my brethren," said Innocent, "and may God be with you. Preach penitence to everyone as God may deign to inspire you." That mendicant was the far-famed Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order, and the greatest religious reformer of his age.

The village of Assisi, in Italy, is very much to-day what it was six or seven hundred years ago. It is built upon a hillside. A church stands on the site where Francis was born in 1182. His father, Peter Bernardine, was a wealthy cloth merchant. Though miserly in many ways, he lavished money without stint upon his son to keep up his association with the sons of the nobles. His pride in this regard was stronger than his greed. The young Francis threw himself into all manner of dissipation. He was very often on the streets with his companions, merry-making and causing the town to ring with their noise, but withal he was kind-hearted and generous. One day, as he was busy with some customers in his father's shop, a man came in begging for

charity in the name of God. Losing his patience, Francis sharply turned him away, but reproached himself immediately after for his hastiness, as he thought, "What would I not have done if the man had asked something of me in the name of a count or a baron? What ought I not to have done when he came in the name of God? I am no better than a clown." He ran out after the beggar and gave him help.

Francis was taken captive in one of the petty wars in connection with his country, and was kept in prison for a year. After his release, he had a severe attack of fever, on recovering from which he became profoundly religious. He saw visions, and began to talk mysteriously of his beautiful bride, Poverty, to which he was now wedded. He retired to a cave in the neighbourhood of Assisi, where he spent a month in prayer and fellowship with God. When he returned to his village, looking wild and haggard, the rabble hooted him as he passed, and pelted him with mud and stones. His indifferent father shut him up in a dark chamber, from which he was released by the tender solicitations of his mother. At last the case came before the bishop, for he refused to be tried by a magistrate, being, he said, on his trial for religion. The bishop insisted upon his yielding to his father all monies and property belonging to him. "I will give up my very clothes," replied the enthusiast. He stripped himself, laid his clothes in a bundle at his father's feet, in presence of the bishop and his court, saying, "Peter Bernardine was my father. I have now but one father in heaven." The bishop threw his cloak on his naked body, and ordered a new dress to be given him. Francis was now, as he declared, wedded to poverty. He begged at the gates of the monasteries; he discharged the most menial offices. "The lepers he attended with more than necessary affectionateness." His first work was to repair the church in his native village. Francis carried stones in his hands

and built up the chapel. "Whoever will give one stone," he said, "shall have one prayer, whoever will give two, two prayers, and three, three prayers." The people mocked, but Francis went on carrying the stones, and the church began to be transformed. So successful was he in awakening the charity of the inhabitants of Assisi that not only that church but two others, by his means, rose out of their ruin to great splendour. At first he was joined by two associates, then by eleven, at a lonely spot by the Rivo Porto. Very soon after, a still larger number was attracted to him, and the rules of the brotherhood, as drawn out by the future saint, were approved by Pope Innocent III. In 1219, the number of members of the Order was 5,000 and 500 candidates were waiting for admission.

The three vital principles of the system were poverty, chastity, and obedience. Poverty was not only a renunciation of all possessions but of all property. Francis had a method of opening his Bible and taking the first passage of scripture that caught his eye as his guide for the time being —such passages as taking neither staff nor scrip for one's journey, as turning the other cheek to the smiter when one was struck, giving one's whole dress when part was taken— such passages were literally acted upon.

Francis long hesitated between the self-regarding solitude of the hermit and the active life of a missionary. When his choice was made, he plunged into the work with his usual enthusiasm. He set off to preach to the Mohammedans of the East. To the Sultan of Turkey he preached the Gospel; he was listened to with respect. Francis offered to enter a great fire with the priests of Islam, and set the truth of either faith on the issue. The Sultan replied that his priests would not submit to this perilous trial. "I will enter alone," said Francis. "If I should be burned, you will impute it to my sins; should I come forth alive, you will embrace the Gospel." The Sultan naturally declined. He, however,

offered to load Francis with rich presents and send him in safety back. But this the preacher of poverty rejected with utter disdain. Many miracles are attributed by Roman Catholic biographers to this remarkable man. It is said that, while praying on Monte Alvano, he saw in a vision a seraphic figure extended upon a cross, and received at the same time the marks of the wounds of our Lord upon his body. The marks were called the stigmata. Pope Alexander IV. publicly declared that he saw the marks with his own eyes. When, however, all allowance has been made for the superstition of the age, for the fervour and imagination of his biographers, there remained sufficient in his life to show that he was a man of eminent piety, and one possessed of a pure, gentle, and loving spirit. He claimed all creation as akin to him. He addressed the flocks of birds that gathered round him as "my brothers." Lambs and larks, he said were images of cherubim and seraphim. He once reproved and cursed a boy who had killed and mangled a lamb. He used to call the moon his sister, and the sun his brother; the wind and the water he called his friends. He died on the 4th October, 1226, with a smile on his face, saying, "Welcome, sister Death." In him all men of whatever creed are irresistibly drawn to recognise the true saint.

While Francis of Assisi was raised by God to reform the Church in Italy, Dominicus was raised about the same time to reform the Church in Spain. Dominicus was a student, and for some time a hermit of Osma. He accompanied the bishop of Osma to Denmark on state missions. On passing through France, he was overwhelmed in observing the progress of heresy in that country. He upbraided the Papal legates for their sloth and luxury. So determined was he to root out heresies, that the origin of the Inquisition is attributed to him, though rigid inquiry fails to prove that he was the originator of the dreadful instruments.

In 1221, the Dominican Order covered Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, Germany, Hungary, and England. In England the Dominicans were known as the Black Friars, and the Franciscans as the Grey Friars. These two Orders have given their names to many streets, lanes, and alleys both in England and Scotland. Both Orders identified themselves with the poor they preached to, and lived with the ordinary labourers, and thus, while sharing the austerity of the hermits, they elevated the ignorant souls among them, counteracted and combated the various heresies that began to raise their heads. They invaded the universities, and sent missionaries amongst the heathen.

The Franciscans and Dominicans can boast of having produced great men within their Orders to perpetuate their name. The Dominicans can boast of such men as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, and the Franciscans of John Scotus, William of Occam, Alexander of Hales, and Roger Bacon. Although the two founders were on cordial terms of friendship and entertained the kindest feelings towards each other, their followers, in course of time, became bitter enemies, and vied with each other for pre-eminence. They both professed to be the friends of the poor, and to maintain their vow of poverty. They, however, acquired, as years rolled on, wealth and property, which caused dissension and divisions amongst them. In the time of Gregory IX., the Dominicans gained great increase of power by being entrusted with the rooting out of heresies. The Franciscans, on the other hand, were more beloved by the common people than their more courtly and haughty rivals, the Dominicans.

There is much room for fault finding from our present-day standpoints with the superstition and absurdities, the extravagances and extremes of these two Orders and their founders, and perhaps greater room for condemnation of the distorted system that grew out of them, and of the

baneful effect of their system in after days upon the interest of truth and righteousness, but no one who will carefully read the history of these times and of these Orders, and impartially consider their needs and aspirations, can have any hesitation in saying that the Dominicans and Franciscans served a great purpose in their age. They were the only means by which the poor could learn anything, by precept and example, of the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ. These Orders had their earnest Christ-loving, Christ-serving missionaries amongst them, men who denied themselves much, perhaps far more than was necessary, men who, in their life as well as in their teaching, were a standing testimony against the indifference, the luxury, the immorality of the clergy and of the Church of the times. They were indeed the evangelicals of the Church of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII.

The High Water Mark of Papal Supremacy.

Facts are often stranger than fiction, and the best intentions, purposes, and plans sometimes produce the most unfavourable and disappointing results. Little did Pope Innocent III., who advanced the claims of the Church to an unprecedented degree, think that, when arranging and superintending the education of the orphan son of Constance of Sicily, he was laying the foundation for the future life of one who, of all others in his age, would do most to weaken the Papal authority. In 1210, at the early age of fourteen, Frederick II. was declared Emperor by a considerable number of the German princes, but it was not till five years later that he became possessor of the imperial throne, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Since the days of Charlemagne, no one possessed such large mental endowments and such high earthly power as Frederick II. He was at once the magnificent sovereign, the knight, the poet, the lawgiver, and the patron of arts, letters, and science. The events of his reign, which extended over thirty-five years, from 1215 to 1250, group themselves around the war undertaken to recover the Holy Land, and his unremitting endeavour to make himself master of the whole of Italy, to reduce the temporal power of the Pope, and confine his authority to the spiritual sphere.

Frederick promised Pope Honorius III., one of his tutors, to enter upon the "holy crusade." The demands, however, of the interests of his vast dominions forced him again and again to delay. After the death of Honorius, and the

ascension to the Papal throne of Gregory IX., and at his command, Frederick set sail for the Holy Land at the head of a large force. A plague broke out, by which multitudes perished. Frederick was smitten, and was obliged to return. The Pope strongly disapproved of this action, declared it to be a mere excuse to abandon the undertaking, and he put him under the ban of excommunication. "All the bells joined their dissonant peals; the clergy, each with his torch, stood around the altar; Gregory implored the eternal malediction of God against the Emperor; the clergy dashed down their torches: there was utter darkness." The sentence of excommunication was proclaimed by every zealous churchman and every wandering friar on the lands of the West, yet this did not seriously weaken Frederick's imperial authority, nor did it move him to alter his plans. He made preparation to start again on the long deferred Crusade. To go on a Crusade under sentence of excommunication was worse in the eyes of the Pope than to leave the sepulchre of the Lord in the hands of the infidel. When commands and threats were alike disregarded by Frederick, two Franciscan Friars were sent in a fast ship to outsail the imperial fleet to proclaim in the East that Frederick was under the ban of the Church, and therefore incapable of conducting the holy enterprise. In spite of all this, in spite of the jealousy of the Knights Templar and Hospitallers, in spite of the hatred of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Emperor had concluded in 1229 an advantageous peace with the Saracens and in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had, with his own hand, placed the royal crown upon his head. So successful were the Pope's emissaries in producing an adverse influence, that neither patriarchs, prelates, nor priests would do the Emperor this service, and yet so generous of spirit was he that he exculpated the Pope. "I acquit the Pope," he said, "for his harsh judgment of me, and for his excommunication. Had the Pope known my real design, he

would have written not against me, but in my favour." An eye witness describes him in the temple: "The Emperor," he says, "was red haired and bald, with weak sight. As a slave, he would not have sold for more than 200 drachmas."

The Pope, as might be expected, regarded the whole action of Frederick as sacrilege. He accused him, on false information as is supposed, of having shown preference to the Mohammedan religion over the Christian, and of having turned an infidel. He accused him of having said that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed. Accordingly he instituted a crusade against him.

The Pope called a Council to dethrone the Emperor and set up another in his place. The bishops and abbots who obeyed the summons were captured by the Emperor's fleet and kept in prison at Naples. When the Emperor's troops arrived beneath the walls of Rome to dethrone the Pope, death interposed and saved Gregory from further humiliation.

A greater opponent to Frederick than Pope Gregory IX. was Innocent IV. Frederick declared his purpose to bring back the priesthood to the position it occupied in the early Church, that they might with proper humility live after the manner of the Apostles. For a time his armies were victorious over his enemies, but suddenly the shadow of the impending doom of his house seemed to settle about him.

Frederick's chief counsellor, Thaddeus, was captured and slain. Soon after, his favourite son was languishing in the dungeon of Bologna. Another year, and the monarch who had been esteemed the wonder of the world was dead. His death occurred on 13th December, 1250.

Frederick had made the fatal mistake of being in advance of his age, a position impossible to sustain, even if his personal character had the respect of religious men. He was a man whom a better age of Christianity might have

made religious, whom his own made irreligious. Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of Frederick is the generous love and chivalry that he inspired into many of the noblest minds of his time. Innocent IV. triumphed, not only in the death of Frederick, but, as he said, "in the destruction of the whole viper brood of the house." Innocent IV. carried the Papal claims to their utmost, and asserted them with ostentatious intrepidity, "We are no mere men," he said. "We have the place of God upon earth."

While these momentous events were taking place in the West, the Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen, and the Greek patriarch had again asserted his independence of the Roman See. In Palestine, the Christians had steadily lost ground. Louis IX., the noble and pious King of France, made a vain effort to stem the tide, but perished in the attempt. The charm of novelty that once belonged to the Crusades was gone. The Popes had abused their right of proclaiming Crusades to extort money or to raise troops to fight the Emperor, and yet the Church continued to advance her unwarrantable claims. The arrogance of Innocent IV. was maintained if not exceeded by Benedict Cajetan, afterwards known as Boniface VIII., who was the next outstanding occupant of the Chair of St. Peter.

There is a saying that appears to sum up the reign of this supercilious Pope. "He came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog." His ascension of the Papal throne was by craft. The jealousies of the Conclave of Cardinals blocked the way to an appointment. There were several aspirants to the office, amongst whom was Benedict Cajetan himself. He worked the oracle well. He suggested the appointment of a monk hermit, a man whom he might use as his tool. Peter of Murrone, for such was his name, was a hermit of the hermits. He was one of a family of eleven. After his mother's wish and his own desire, he retired to the desert at the age of twenty. Under a great

stone he dug a hole, in which he could neither stand upright nor stretch his limbs, and there he dwelt in all the luxury of self-torture, "among lizards, serpents, and toads." In this hole with a window grated with iron bars the Ambassadors of the Conclave found "an old man with a grey shaggy beard, sunken eyes, overhung with hairy brows, and lids swollen with perpetual weeping, pale hollow cheeks, with limbs meagre with fasting." They fell on their knees before him and he before them. (What a sad commentary on the highest form of religion in those days!).

After much hesitation, the hermit consented to accept the high honour of becoming Pope. None were more earnest in urging him than his hermit brethren, who, in return for their support, expected promotion. What a transformation took place in the appearance of the hermit! He exchanged the hermit's rags for the gorgeous purple robes; he entered the city of Aquila riding on an ass, with a king on each side of him to hold his stirrups. The transformation was too much for Peter of Murrone, whose hermit habits were dearer to him than the royal palace. It is said that he constructed a cell underneath the ground in his palace, where he preferred to spend more of his time than in his purple cushioned apartments. It is no wonder that such a man should prove himself unfit to occupy the Papal chair, and should feel disposed to get out of it. It is reported that Benedict Cajetan constructed a hole in the wall of the sleeping chamber of Peter Murrone, now Pope Celestine V., through which a terrible voice came to the Pope's ear repeatedly in the dead of night, announcing itself as God's messenger, and commanding him to return to his former life. The Pope resigned, and was succeeded by Benedict Cajetan, who prevented him returning to his former life although he wished it, and cast him into prison, where he died of ill treatment, or was poisoned. The famous poet Dante, who flourished at this period, and cast a halo of glory about it,

condemns the hermit Pope as guilty of the baseness of the great refusal, and gives him his place at the mouth of hell, where those are who are "disdained alike by Mercy and Justice," and on whom the poet will hardly even condescend to look.

> **"I looked, and beheld the shade of him**
> **Who made through cowardice the great refusal."**

Benedict Cajetan fills the Apostolic Chair under the name of Boniface VIII. He came like a fox, and he is now determined to rule like a lion.

The Guelphs and Ghibellines were the names of two great political parties, which divided Italy and Germany during the Middle Ages. The words latterly came to be applied as party names for those in favour of the Pope and the Emperor respectively. Boniface determined to destroy the Ghibellines' power. The family of Colonna of that party he persecuted to death, and by craft and false promises made himself master of their greatest stronghold, Palestrina. A famous Ghibelline, who had adopted the poverty and the vows of St. Francis, was summoned from his convent to inspect the stronghold of Palestrina. The old soldier surveyed the impregnable defences, and uttered the memorable oracle, "Promise largely; keep little by your promises." The large promises were made; the gates of the stronghold were thrown open; the promises were not kept; Palestrina was razed to the ground; the plough was run over it, and it was sown with salt.

The year 1300 was celebrated with jubilee splendour by Boniface. Hitherto it was only those who went to Palestine on Crusades who had been favoured with Church privileges and special indulgences, but now it was proposed that all those who visited Rome on pilgrimage and the tombs of the chief of the Apostles, were to have those high privileges. The Pope, in his solicitude for the souls of men, by his plenary power granted full absolution to all

who, after repentance and confession, should visit the Church of the Apostles once a day for thirty days if they were Romans, and if strangers for fifteen days. Throughout the year, the roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, and Britain were crowded with pilgrims of all ages and both sexes. There were at one time during the year 200,000 strangers in Rome. This paid the inhabitants well, and none better than the Pope. It was reported by an eye witness that two priests stood with rakes in their hands, sweeping from the altar the uncounted gold and silver, all of which was entirely at the disposal of the Pope. From this great act of amnesty to the whole of Christendom were sternly excluded all belonging to the Ghibellines' Party.

This remarkable so-called religious movement was preceded by disputes and differences of a very serious nature between the Pope and the King of France—Philip the Fair—and Edward, the King of England. Both Philip and Edward refused to acknowledge the claim of temporal power advanced by the Pope. They withheld the revenue which he drew from their realms, and Philip waged upon him a war of which the issue was so doubtful that the Pope decided that discretion was the better part of valour, and that to maintain a policy of conciliation was safer for him. Boniface explained and modified many of his Bulls and Anathemas against Philip and Edward, and so a passive attitude was assumed on both sides. When, however, war broke out between England and France, and Philip claimed a right to the English territory in France, and also when war broke out between England and Scotland in the heroic days of Wallace, the Pope assumed the right to command peace, and, though at first unwilling to listen to the voice that came forth with such arrogance from the Papal throne, yet afterwards both Philip and Edward agreed to the arbitration of the Pope, not, however, as Pope, but as private Benedict Cajetan. When the arbitration was made known, it was

in the form of a Papal Bull, which the two kings indignantly resented. Boniface, however, on account of the great pilgrimage to Rome and the convulsive state of the nation, remained silent. The trouble, however, broke out shortly after in a war to the knife between the Pope and the King of France.

When the Pope commanded that no money should be paid the King, and claimed that the Pope had supreme power in taxation, Philip forbade any gold or silver leaving the kingdom for the Pope's treasury. When the cardinals and leaders of the Church were summoned on this account to Rome, Philip intercepted them. The Pope in turn excommunicated and dethroned Philip, and offered his kingdom to another. Philip sent William of Nogerat, his great legal adviser, and Colonna, the fiercest of Boniface's enemies, with an army to seize the Pope. The nation stood as a whole true to Philip.

The streets of Anagni, the Pope's native town, where he had a royal palace, and whither at this time he retired, were suddenly disturbed. The Pope and the cardinals who were assembled around him were startled by the tramp of armed horses, and the terrible cry that ran like wild fire through the city, "Death to Pope Boniface: long live the King of France!" The haughtiness and tyranny of the man alienated from him the people even of his native place. They offered no real resistance. The Pope was seized and made prisoner, and the enormous wealth in the palace taken. In a few days there was a reaction. The people of Anagni repelled the enemy, and liberated the Pope. From the shock to his nervous system, however, and the humiliation to which he was reduced, he died shortly after, on the 11th October, 1303.

The religious mind of Christendom was at once perplexed and horrified by this act of sacrilege and violence on the person of the supreme Pontiff. It shocked some even of the

Ghibellines, his greatest enemies. Dante brands the pride, the avarice, the treachery of Boniface in his most terrible words, and consigns him to the direst doom. How true the saying, "He came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog."

The Church of this period was exceedingly wealthy. Its property in land was enormous. Landowners who took part in the Crusades left their land to the Church by will and testament in the event of their never returning. Many on their deathbeds made their wills in a similar way. This method was perfectly legal and valid when signed by the priest and two witnesses, and was a kind of safeguard against the future. A wealthy man who made his wealth over to the Church received all the consolation the Church could bestow.

The Popes claimed the right to levy taxes, a power of which they took every advantage when they required money to satisfy their avarice, or wage war against their enemies. Several of the religious orders which began with the creed of poverty soon fell into the possession of much land. One of the Popes, when asked to pass a decree to the effect that one of these orders might retain possession of at least part of their property, insisted that they should first deposit in the bank a very large sum of money, which would be restored to them if the Church passed the decree. The Church, however, discovered that, according to the will of the founder of the order, they could retain no property, and when a demand was made for the large deposit, it was found illegal for the owners to possess it. The Pope got the benefit of this law suit; the Pope knew how to look after his own interest.

The bishops, prelates, and priests lived in luxury and worldliness, with the exception of a few belonging to the Franciscan and Dominican and other Orders. There was sometimes a strange contrast in the outward condition and

appearance of the people in Church and State. By the side of the brilliant attire of the prince or of the bishop could be seen the frock of the monk and the rags of the peasant. "In the vicinity of the mighty cathedral, whose spire rises above the tallest trees of the forest, are the mean dwellings of the mechanic and the peasant's miserable hovel. In sight of the castle, above whose walls fierce battles rose, are the church and the convents within the precincts of which reign law and order."

Amongst the monkish orders, especially amongst the Franciscans and Dominicans, were men by whom a great impulse was given to preaching. Almost all the great monks and schoolmen were great preachers, and the crowds that flocked around them as they preached in the vernacular were enormous. Of all mediæval preachers, none can be compared in depth of spirituality with Francis Berthold of Ravensburg. He wandered from town to town preaching to enormous crowds of the grace of God in Christ, and against the abuse of indulgences, images, saints, and also meritoriousness in pilgrimages.

There was very little education amongst the people. An unsuccessful attempt was made to institute a public school system of compulsory education. Most of the education, such as it was, was spread through vernacular preaching, reading, and singing. Rhyming Bibles, which gave the Old Testament history, the life of Jesus, and the story of the Jews, until the destruction of Jerusalem, were much in vogue. The oldest German example, in three books by an unknown author, contains 100,000 rhyming lines of the history of the Church and that of the Apostles and Saints.

In the devotional system of the Middle Ages, the celestial hierarchy of angels had an important part. Apparitions of angels were frequent. They were protectors against the demoniacal spirits with which the air was filled. In almost all the popular legends, the devil bore a leading part. He

was sometimes represented as a dupe, that was cheated out of his bargain in the end. At other times he was represented as having horns, a tail, and cloven feet. There is no end of the legends about evil spirits and angels and saints.

In 1215, the doctrine of transubstantiation was finally accepted. The fear lest any of the blood of our Lord should be spilt led, in the twelfth century, to the withdrawal of the cup from the laity. It was given only to the priests. Amongst the many sacraments, marriage is one. At first, marriage was regarded as a civil act. In the early Christian times, it required only the consent of the two parties concerned before witnesses. Later on this required to be done before the bishop or minister, and the married pair had to go to church as a public acknowledgment of their union. In the Middle Ages, the priestly benedictions needed to precede the marriage ceremony, and the bridal communion to accompany the civil action. As another than the father sometimes gave away the bride, the position of sponsor was claimed by the Church for the priest. Marriage thus lost its civil character, and the priest performed it not for the family but for the Church. In 1139 it was made a law that the parties to be married should be proclaimed in the church in order to discover if there were any real objection to the marriage.

CHAPTER XIV.

Decline of Papal Power, and Protestants before Protestantism.

Avignon is pleasantly situated on the bank of the Rhone, four hundred and twenty-six miles S.S.E. of Paris, in a valley which is adorned with meadows, orchards, and mulberry plantations. Its lofty mediæval walls, with their thirty-nine watch towers are still very perfect. The town is clean; the houses are of stone and well built. The streets, like those of most eastern towns, are narrow. Its trades are various and prosperous, its charitable institutions are many, and its literary equipments considerable. Its public library consists of eighty thousand volumes, and seven hundred ancient and valuable MSS. The Massacre of Avignon in 1791 is made famous by Thomas Carlyle in one of his brilliant sketches in *The French Revolution,* and the city itself will always have an interest to Englishmen, as being the burial place of the eminent philosopher and political economist, John Stuart Mill. It had been Mr. Mill's custom for many years to reside in this city during the winter and spring, and there he died in 1873.

In the days of the Emperor Constantine, Rome, the foremost city in the world, the queen of all cities in prestige, became for a time second in importance to Constantinople, to which the Imperial Court had been transferred. In 1309, and for seventy years, Avignon and not Rome was the seat of Papal authority. There the Popes resided, very much to the dissatisfaction of the Romans. This period is known in Church history as that of the "Babylonish captivity."

Philip the Fair, King of France, was as vindictive as he was ambitious. His revenge on his fierce opponent, Pope Boniface, was not satisfied by the humiliation and death of that potentate. He was determined to wreak his vengeance upon him after death. The successor of Boniface was Benedict XI., who did all he could to restore a good understanding between the Papacy and the French government, but his short reign of eight months enabled him to effect little. For nine months, a violent controversy raged between the Italian and French cardinals over the appointment of a new Pope. Each party determined to elect a countryman of their own. At length it was wilily suggested by Cardinal Da Prato that the Italians should nominate three candidates from their own number, and that of these one should be chosen by the French King within forty days. The Italian party thought themselves secure by this proposal, but, owing to it, the French King was able to offer the Popedom at his own price to that one of the three who most favoured the party of Boniface and, therefore, the Italian people, and was most opposed to himself. Bartrand d' Agoust, Bishop of Bordeaux, the elected Pope, complied with all the conditions laid down by Philip. He was designated Clement V. With him began the disgraceful servility of Popes, dependent on the interests of France. For seventy years the Popes of Avignon were little better than tools of the French Kings, who used their spiritual power to promote the ends of French policy. The clauses in the various Bulls issued by Boniface which were insulting to the French King were expunged, and a good understanding was restored between Philip and the Holy See. At the instigation of Philip, even Boniface, as far as Clement dared to do it, was accused of heresy and wrong doing.

When, on the death of Albert I., Philip desired to elect his brother, Charles de Valois to the imperial throne, Clement found it hard to resist, and was obliged to resort to tricks

through Da Prato, who was ready to play equally false against and on behalf of the King. While in public, Clement pretended to be in favour of the King's brother, in private he used his influence with the German princes to elect Henry of Luxemburg. Henry was elected, and Philip saw his favourite plan defeated.

At the Council of Vienne, in 1311, the memory of Boniface was vindicated despite the spleen of Philip. At the same Council was decreed also the destruction of the Order of the Knights Templar, in which Clement had, in the most shameful manner, submitted to be used as a tool of the French King.

In the year 1117, two French knights took upon themselves the obligation of escorting the pilgrims who continually journeyed between Jerusalem and the river Jordan. They were too poor to have two horses, and so they rode upon one, a fact perpetuated on the great seal of the Order of Templars, which they founded. The three great military Orders of mediæval Christendom were the Knights Hospitallers of St. John's of Jerusalem, commonly known as the Knights Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary's of Jerusalem, or the German Knights of the Cross, and the Templars—all instituted in the twelfth century. Of the three, the Templars were the most celebrated and powerful. The original two knights were joined by seven other knights. They were provided with lodgings near the traditional site of the Temple, hence their name. The Order increased in numbers and power. They wore a white tunic and a red cross on the left breast. One of their founders travelled to the different Courts of Europe to enlist servants for the Order, and such was his success that he returned to the East with a band of three hundred knights. Appealing as it did to the two strongest passions of the times—the desire of military fame and the sanctity of the monastic life, the new Order rose rapidly in dignity

and importance. A number of the noblest families in every nation of Christendom eagerly sought to join it, and so the little band of nine soon grew into many thousands. Gradually the Order became wealthy as well as powerful. Legacies and donations in land and money were showered upon it, and in course of time it acquired ample possessions in every country in Europe. At the head of the Order was the Grand Master, who held the rank of a prince. The Order of the Good Templars of the present day is a kind of survival of the Templars of old. The island of Cyprus, purchased from Richard I. became their headquarters. They spread over England, Ireland, and Scotland. The original residence of the Templars in London was on the south side of the Holborn, whence they removed in 1185 to their new house at the western extremity of Fleet Street, the site of which still retains the name. There their ancient cemetery can still be seen. Temple Bar and City Temple are survivals of the old name in that district.

At first the Order were protected and patronised by the Popes. Their houses were specially privileged. They were free from all interdicts and all taxes. To the Popes the Templars were always faithful and stood by them in all their quarrels, while for more than one hundred and seventy years the soldiers of the Temple formed the most renowned portion of the Christian troops engaged in the East, and almost every encounter with the enemy bore testimony to their prowess and daring. Their wealth and power, however, came to be regarded with jealousy, and towards the close of the thirteenth century, danger began to gather around them.

Out of ambition to suppress the great power of the Order, and out of greed to possess their enormous wealth, Philip determined on their destruction, and for this end he secured the connivance if not the help of the Pope (Clement). Their destruction was secretly planned, like that of the Jews in the days of Mordecai, and on a given day every one of

the high born and valiant warriors was dragged into prison. There they were most cruelly treated and most falsely accused. Tribunals sat from day to day and endeavoured to extract from them false confessions by which they might be condemned to death. The most cruel tortures were used. The victim was stripped, his hands tied behind him, the cord which lashed his hands being hung upon a pulley at some distance above his head. At a sign from the judge, he was hoisted up with a fearful wrench and then violently let fall to the ground. Afterwards, the feet of the victim were fixed in the stocks, rubbed with oil, and fire applied to the soles. Splinters of wood were often driven up the nails into the finger joints. These tests some were not able to stand, and they were, through weakness, induced to make false confessions which condemned them. But of these confessions many of them afterwards repented. Some, however, suffered nobly even to the death rather than betray the honour of their Order. Men can be martyrs for truth and honour who make no profession of living faith in Jesus Christ.

Du Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, was on March 18th, 1314, burned on one of the small islands of the Seine. A tradition of the time asserts that, when fastened to the stake, he summoned the King and Pope to meet him at the bar of God, and this was supposed to be fulfilled in the sudden and unexpected death of both which occurred shortly afterwards.

There was no greater proof of the increasing weakness of the Papacy than the influence which the King of France exerted on it during the long period of seventy years at Avignon.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, 1378, began the great Schism of the Papacy which divided Western Christendom for about forty years. The feeling of difference and jealousy between France and Italy was too strong to

permit of their agreeing on one Pope, so the Romans elected Pope Urban VI. The harsh and unbearable temper of this Pope so irritated the French that they elected a Pope of their own, who was named Clement VII. France, Naples, Saxony at once, and Spain and Holland somewhat later, declared in favour of Clement, while the rest of Western Europe acknowledged Urban.

The double Popedom broke up the unity of power in the Church. It exposed her to the temptation of winning influence by craft, and giving offices in the Church for the sake of power to men who had no fitness for them.

A writer of the time speaks of how men of no learning and no piety were given high positions. He tells how many of them, brought up in idleness, busied themselves in looking out for their pleasures, feasting and sporting; how, in many places there were large numbers of bad, wretched, ignorant priests, whose scandalous living made them sources of corruption and offence to the community, and called forth expressions of contempt for the priesthood. This writer complains that all study of the Scriptures was ridiculed even by bishops, who looked upon their own decrees as vastly more important than the Divine precepts. According to Nicholas de Clemangis, in 1401 the proportion of the good to the bad amongst the priests was scarcely one to a thousand; but this estimate scarcely seems just, for we find many men who, by their profession and life, protested against the evil of their age and surroundings. These were Protestants before Protestantism.

The very declension of the Papacy formed a strong plea for the rise and existence of many and different sects. Utterly corrupt as the Romish Church had become, her spiritual life had not altogether become dead, and wherever it existed it assumed the form of resistance and protest against the depravity of the age.

Amongst the various sects which had sprung up in

mediæval times was that of the Albigenses, which indeed included more than one sect holding different opinions, some of which were tinged with the Manichæan heresy of the third century, but all agreed in considering the authority assumed by the Popes in spiritual matters as well as the discipline and ceremonies of the Romish Church as unlawful and erroneous.

These dissenters received their name from the town of Albi, in the south of France, where they appeared to be numerous. They were a quiet and simple people, and trained their children in the principles of truth and uprightness. They became influential and wealthy, and were a powerful influence for good. As might be expected, the Papal authority marked them out for destruction. The war against them began in 1209, and lasted many years, attended by circumstances of the greatest cruelty. As town after town was taken, the inhabitants were slaughtered indiscriminately, the numerous ecclesiastics who were with the army being especially distinguished for their savage ferocity. At last the extermination of the Albigenses in the south of France was complete. Their country was left desolate, and their language and poetry were lost. Such was the fate of a large body of Protestants who raised their voices in those days against the corruptions of their mother Church.

On the eastern or Italian side of the Cottian Alps, there are three valleys which together compose an area of twenty-two miles in length from north to south, and eighteen miles from east to west. These are the Waldensian valleys. The population is about twenty thousand. The inhabitants of these valleys played an important part in the history of Protestantism from the twelfth century onwards. Probably an opposition to the Roman Catholic Church not unlike the Albigensian movement existed in some of the Italian valleys prior to 1172, but it was through the labours of Peter Waldo that this movement at first assumed historical importance.

Peter Waldo was a rich merchant in Lyons who had been awakened to serious thought by the sudden death of a companion according to some, according to others by the chance song of a travelling troubadour. This reformer, by the study of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, conceived an earnest desire to bring back the Church to primitive Apostolic purity. He gave all his possessions to the poor, began public preaching, and collected about him a body of associates who were commonly called the poor men of Lyons. They wore wooden shoes and were poorly clad. At first their desire was to reform the Church rather than to separate from it, but the archbishop of Lyons commanded their silence, and the Pope excommunicated them, so they left the Church.

The strength of this sect lay in their faith in the Word of God. Peter Waldo succeeded in having the New Testament translated into the vernacular from the Vulgate or Latin version which only few could read. The translation was widely scattered over the south of France. It was called "The Romaunt," and appeared in 1180. Of this New Testament version, six copies have come down to our day. The Church of the Waldensian valleys at this early age was Apostolic in its spirit and Presbyterian in its organisation. The Synod met once a year, and was composed of an equal number of bards or teachers and laymen. The youth were taught the Scriptures, and were required to commit to memory, and to be able accurately to repeat the Gospels and Epistles. This was a necessary accomplishment in those days when printing was unknown, and copies of the Word of God were rare. To maintain the truth in their mountain home was not the only object of the people. They sent their probationers for three years into the mission fields before they were eligible for a charge at home. They did not cross the ocean, but worked in the fields that lay spread out around their own mountains. They went forth two and two, con-

cealing their own character under the guise of a secular profession, most commonly that of itinerant pedlars. They were welcomed as merchants where they would be spurned as missionaries. They carried silk, jewellery, and other articles. The doors of the cottage and of the castle were open to them. They took with them among their wares portions of the Word of God, and, after selling some of their jewellery, they would say, on presenting a copy of the New Testament in the vernacular, "We have here a jewel more valuable than all the rest. Would you like to see it?" If any desired to possess it, they would give it as a gift where the means for purchase were absent. Thus the Word of God was disseminated in the language of the people, and had its own effect.

These people were subjected again and again, century after century, to severe persecution, but they remained faithful to the truth. They were the first body of the Protestants before the Reformation that showed a true determination to hold by the testimony of the truth. At the present time the Waldensian Church in Italy, besides sixteen pastors in the valleys, has over forty settled congregations, ten mission stations, and 21,000 communicants. In Rome the Waldensians have an organisation, a church edifice, Sabbath and other schools.

One of the greatest schoolmen of the Middle Ages, surnamed by his followers and admirers "The Invincible Doctor," was William of Occam, born of humble parents in the valley of Occam in Surrey in 1240. Tradition asserts that he studied at Merton College, Oxford, and that he held several benefices in his native country which he resigned that he might enter the Franciscan Order. Occam became one of the greatest of the Franciscans. He composed a treatise on the power of the Pope. He showed that the Church, since it had its unity in Christ, was not under the necessity of being subject to a single master, the Pope. He placed

the Emperor and the general council above the Pope as his judges. In matters of faith, he would not allow infallibility even to general councils. The writings of this reformer told powerfully upon the Waldensians of his time. His aim was to show that the Pope and the Church arrogated to themselves the power that belonged to God alone.

The greatest reformer of the period was perhaps Marsilius of Padua, the Emperor's physician and theologian, sometime previously the Rector of the University of Paris. He was to France what Occam was to England. His great work, *Defensor Pacis,* had as its object to show that, inasmuch as a Church and State had their natural limits severally assigned to them, the peace between the two should thereby be definitely settled. This is one of the fundamental principles of Protestantism and advanced Presbyterianism. The position thus taken up was very much in advance of the age. The State, Marsilius describes as a society of men having reference to this earthly life and its interests. The Church is a society having reference to eternal life. He disclaimed for the Church any species of coercive authority. According to the doctrine of the New Testament, bishops should hold themselves aloof from all secular affairs. In referring to punishment, he says, "Civil and divine punishments belong to entirely different provinces. It might happen that one who ought to be punished according to the law of the State would not be finally punished before the divine tribunal. What is a heresy and what is not is entrusted to the priest to declare."

The author of this work perceived the baseless character of the whole Papal system, and with a boldness and confidence free from bias, showed his ability to distinguish original truth from later imposition. "The Bishop of Rome," he said, "ought to be called the successor of the Apostle Paul, who for two years preached the Gospel in Rome, rather than the successor of Peter. It could not even

be shown from the New Testament that Peter had ever been at Rome." The free inquiring spirit and the sharp discernment of this man are evinced in the skill with which he shows up the idle character of those tales so long believed about Peter's labours in Rome and his meeting with Paul there. "It must be regarded as very singular," he says, "that Luke, the author of the Acts, and Paul should nowhere make mention of Peter in this relationship. How can this fact be reconciled with the statement that Peter had laboured in Rome before Paul, when it appears from the last chapter of Acts that to the Jews in Rome the Christians were a wholly unknown sect? How can this be reconciled with the fact that, when Paul reproached the Jews, he did not appeal to the earlier preaching of Peter, and with the fact also that Paul, during his two years' residence in Rome should never come in contact with Peter?"

The writings of Occam and Marsilius must have startled the people, who were accustomed to think of the Pope and the priesthood as holding the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but, though they might not have alarmed those who first heard them uttered, still there was in them a power of self-propagation which could not but influence future generations. Luther was a student of Occam, and derived from him his conception of the Lord's Supper.

These men and such as these men were the precursors of the Reformation. They sowed the seed that germinated and yielded a rich harvest in the days of Luther. They were indeed like the morning star which succeeded the darkness of mediævalism and preceded the dawn of Reformation times.

Part III.

MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER XV.

John Wycliffe.

In the month of November, 1414, the town of Constance, situated on Lake Baden, was the centre of special attraction for all Christendom, and the scene of unparalleled activity. For several months the roads which led to this central city were crowded with all ranks and orders, ecclesiastics and laymen, sovereigns, princes, and ambassadors, archbishops, and bishops. No less than a hundred thousand souls were added to the population of this little town, and of these over two thousand were priests. There were hundreds of abbots and doctors, a hundred and fifty bishops, twenty archbishops, and thirty cardinals, all combining to give the gathering the appearance of a great Christian council. But it was in fact a European congress, "a vast central fair, where every kind of commerce was conducted on the boldest scale, and where amusements of all kinds and vices of the worst description were indulged in." This was the well known Council of Constance. It was no more famous for the number, the retinue, and riches of its ecclesiastics, than it was distinguished for the worldliness, immorality, and debasing wickedness of almost all classes and conditions of those who in such vast multitudes were attracted to it.

The Council of Constance was summoned by Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, and Pope John XXIII. It was called for three principal reasons—the union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope, the reformation of the Church in its head and members, and the extirpation of erroneous and heretical doctrines. The first of these objects—the union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope—takes one back thirty-six years, to the year 1378, when Pope Urban V. ascended the Papal throne. The death of Pope Gregory XI. was succeeded by a great tumult at Rome, the people insisting that the French majority should no longer dominate the cardinalate. For seventy years, a period known as the "Babylonish Captivity," the French were represented in the Papal chair by one of their own people, who dwelt amongst them at Avignon, but now the cry "We will have an Italian," was so far acceded to that a Neapolitan archbishop was chosen Pope. But the new Pontiff speedily embroiled himself with the cardinals by party reform and an arrogant demeanour. The majority of the cardinals retired to Anagni, professed to have voted for Urban under intimidation, and elevated the warrior bishop of Cambray. This prelate, as the anti-Pope Clement VII., began at Avignon the great schism which divided Western Christendom for nearly forty years, 1378-1417. For thirty years, these two Popes and their successors, and for nearly ten years even three Popes, each claiming to occupy the chair of St. Peter at the same time, thundered anathemas at each other. England, Germany, Hungary, and the northern kingdoms favoured the Italian Pope, while Scotland, Naples, Castille, and Aragon espoused the cause of the French Pope. Thus was Europe seriously involved in the great schism. "Greed, simony, and immorality made the Popish Courts stink in the nostrils of all Christendom."

In 1409, twenty-two cardinals and a host of prelates and divines met in Pisa Cathedral. Flagrant vices in the Church

were denounced, such as appropriation of benefices by grasping statesmen and prelates, the non-residence of bishops, the sale of Papal favours, the exemption of monasteries from Episcopal control. The verdict of Council over-ruled Hildebrand's principle, that the Pope is exempt from all earthly judgments, save in the case of manifest heresy. By this Council, both Popes were condemned in their absence, and stripped of all their dignities, and the Council demanded the aid of the secular power in the case of their continued contumacy. The cardinals elected Peter Philargi, a Franciscan, archbishop of Milan, as the new Pontiff. He assumed the name of Alexander V. The Franciscan Pope was of humble origin, blameless life, and studious habits, but he disgusted the Church by unduly advancing the mendicant orders, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and Carmelites, authorising them, in an official Bull, to receive tithes, hear confessions, and celebrate the sacraments in all parts of Christendom. For this reason, the Paris University expelled all mendicants from her walls. The French King practically cancelled the Bull by a royal proclamation. Alexander died the following year, and the Bull was revoked by his successor, John XXIII., in 1410.

The appointment of Alexander V. by the cardinals of Pisa, instead of putting an end to the schism by deposing the existing two Popes, only added a third, nor did his death diminish the number, for his successor, John XXIII., was immediately appointed. Baldassare Cossa, for such was the name of the new Pope, was one of the worst of men. From the humble position of a clerk on board a pirate, he was raised to be the Pope's chamberlain. To him was attributed the enormous abuse of indulgences, the sellers of which used to say that St. Peter himself had no greater power to remit sin than they had. The sum of money gathered by these men and means was enormous. Baldassare Cossa, while legate, plundered one of these men of a hundred thousand

florins. The poor victim hanged himself in prison. Baldassare was even accused of having poisoned his predecessor, Pope Alexander V. There was no crime or wickedness of which he was not guilty. This man the Council was determined to depose from his office. As far as ending the schism was concerned, the Council of Pisa was a failure for after it three Popes instead of one flourished at the same time. Pope John was summoned before the Council for deposition, and when he saw that not only was the spirit of the Council opposed to him, but that serious and criminal charges were to be laid against his character, he planned his escape. The Duke of Austria, favouring him, occupied the attention of the people by means of a splendid tournament, while Pope John, in the dress of a groom, mounted a wretched, ill-conditioned horse, passed through the gates of the city unperceived and unchallenged, and made his escape to the Duke's castle at Schaffhausen. He was afterwards apprehended, and stripped of all his insignia of office. The castle of Heidelberg was assigned to him as his residence and prison.

After a three years' sitting, the Council of Constance in 1417 elected cardinal Otto Colonna as Pope—a man of highest birth, irreproachable morals, and great learning. He took the title of Martin V. This practically ended the forty years' schism. Nothing had done so much damage to the Papal cause as this schism. It not only exposed the utter degradation and corruption of the leaders of the Church, but also held up to ridicule the supreme authority of the Pope in his claim to infallibility. Everyone knew that Peter could not have two or three successors occupying his seat at the same time. Which was the right one, and through which of the three does the Romish Church draw its Apostolic descent one would like to know? But the schism, bad as it was, awakened a spirit of inquiry as to

what constituted the supreme power in the Christian Church, and in whom it was vested. The Councils of Pisa and of Constance were a distinct protest against the supremacy of the Pope. Leading men amongst the learned and amongst the highest officials of the Church openly declared that the Church through her representatives was entitled to review the actions and decisions of the Pope. Nowhere was the spirit of reform in this direction more clearly displayed than in the University of Paris, two of whose representatives, Gerson and D'Ailly, were amongst the leaders of the Council of Constance. The former was Chancellor of the University, a man of daring courage both in his written and spoken declarations. He laid down twelve great revolutionary maxims; amongst those were the following:—"That Jesus Christ was the one primal and perfect head of the Church; that the Church is under the direction of the Holy Spirit; that she may enact canons which the Pope is bound to obey, and cannot amend; that the reformation of the Church, both in faith and discipline, rests ultimately with the Council." "What is a Pope?" asks Gerson. "A man," he replies. "The son of a man, clay of clay, a sinner liable to sin; two days before he is raised to be Pope he is the son of a poor peasant. Is he then above repentance, confession, contrition, a sinless angel, a saint?" Language like this looks far advanced, and coming from the head of the famous University of Paris, clearly points the direction in which the current of intellectual thought was flowing.

The Council of Cardinals declared at their decision that reformation of a radical character was needed in the head and the members of the Church, and Martin V., before he was elected, promised that this reformation would be effected before the Council was dismissed, but after his installation he refused to implement his promise, and dismissed the Council at an early date. His action, however, only stemmed

the tide of reformation progress for a season, and indeed practically helped it to flow all the deeper and stronger when the crisis arrived.

Previous to the great schism, and during the so-called "Babylonish Captivity," England was in a state of revolt against the Pope. Martin V. demanded a thousand marks from the King of England, Richard II., a sum that had not been paid for thirty-five years. He demanded it as first rent, a kind of acknowledgment of the Pope as superior of the kingdom of England. This tax leads one back for an explanation about two centuries. About the year 1202, Pope Innocent III. asserted what he regarded as his right to appoint the primate of England, the archbishop of Canterbury—an appointment which the King of England claimed as his own. After the death of archbishop Hubert, the Chapter, without any authority from the King, elected Reginald their superior, and sent him immediately to Rome for the confirmation of his office. When the King heard this, he appointed the bishop of Norwich to the office. Both appealed to Rome, but the Pope, ignoring the two appointments, elected his own favourite, cardinal Langton. It has previously been shown how the Pope, by his interdict and the threat that Philip should invade England, brought King John to his knees; and he, being a weakling, went to the opposite extreme and sold himself and his kingdom to the Pope. "The latter's legate, Pandulf, had the King's crown laid at his feet, and after he kicked it about, he picked it out of the dust and placed it on the craven head of the monarch." There is no moment of profounder humiliation than this in the annals of England. It took place on May 15th, 1213. The weakness of King John was specially rebuked by his nobles, when they insisted upon him signing the Charter of their liberty against the intrusion of the Pope. The Charter, known as the Magna Charta, was an Act by which John practically rescinded his

obligations to the Pope. Thus England shook off the Papal yoke, but the thousand marks that King John promised as an evidence of his submission to the Pope continued to be paid for nearly a century. It was this tax then, the payment of which dropped off for about thirty-five years, that Martin V. demanded of Richard II. of England. When Richard submitted the demand to his nobles, they refused in the most emphatic manner, declaring that the Pope had no temporal power, that his duty lay within the spiritual sphere, and that the King was supreme in his own domain. Where did these nobles learn ideas so advanced for the time? Many of them, when educated at Oxford, imbibed these reformed doctrines from their distinguished leader, John Wycliffe, and thus the seed sown in the virgin soil was beginning to yield a rich harvest.

In the year 1325, John Wycliffe was born in the manor house of the parish of Wycliffe in Yorkshire. After the custom of the age, he took his surname from the place of his residence, and was accordingly known as John de Wycliffe. He was destined for the Church by his parents from his childhood. At the age of sixteen, he entered Merton College, Oxford. This was the most distinguished college in that seat of learning. Here the learned William of Occam and Duns Scotus were educated. There were several thousand students at Oxford. The Oxford schools partook in those days more of the character of the secondary education of the present day than of our modern university system. Young Wycliffe became a distinguished philosophical student, and identified himself with the school of the Realists, which maintained a fierce contest with Nominalism, that had revived since the time of William of Occam. Like many other great scholars, Wycliffe was much influenced by his teacher, the famous Thomas Bradwardine, who became archbishop of Canterbury a short time before his death. Bradwardine was the first to awaken the spiritual instincts

of Wycliffe, and to send him to the study of the Scriptures. His chief literary work was in defence of the position that all human holiness is exclusively the fruit of Divine grace, and, as the correlate of this view, he asserted predestination. Were it not for him, Wycliffe might have entered the priesthood without having studied a single chapter of the Bible, for Bible studies formed no part of the curriculum for the Church. Instead of Peter and Paul, the young students occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus and Lombard, the Master of Sentences.

Before the student days of Wycliffe, in 1348, a fearful pestilence hailing from Asia, visited the land. In London alone a hundred thousand souls perished. The ravages of the plague spread over all England, and a full half of the nation, it was alleged, was struck down. "This visitation from the Almighty," says D'Aubigne, "sounded like the trumpet of the Judgment Day in the heart of Wycliffe." Bradwardine had already brought him to the Bible: this plague brought him to it the second time, not as a scholar to refine his taste, nor as a controversialist in search of weapons to assail his adversaries, but as a lost sinner seeking how he might be saved.

Wycliffe's fame in Oxford led to his promotion to offices of high trust and honour, and his writings are a testimony to the extent and depth of his academic studies. His distinguished ability, and the active part he took in connection with the affairs of State, secured for him the favour of the Court, and gave weight to his counsel when he urged the refusal of the tribute of a thousand merks to which King John had so foolishly pledged his nation. The nobles and their King were determined that their country should no longer be a money hunting-ground for the Pope and his minions. The very best dignities and benefices of the Church of England were enjoyed by Italians, Frenchmen, and other foreigners, "who were," says Lewis, "some of

them mere boys, and not only ignorant of the English language, but even of Latin, and who never so much as saw their churches, but committed the care of them to those they could get to serve them most cheaply, and had the revenues of them remitted to Rome or elsewhere." To check this abuse, a statute was passed called the statute of "Provisors." The grievances were not, however, removed. A commission accordingly sat at Bruges in the Netherlands, where the Pope's nuncios conferred with English delegates, of whom Wycliffe was one. For two years the commission sat, but, like most commissions, it had no practical issue. Such, however, was the impression produced upon Wycliffe, that there was ever afterwards quite a revulsion in his mind against the Popish system, and the morals of the Pope and his representatives. He saw now, clearer than ever, that the whole system of the Romish Church was a huge machinery, constructed chiefly with a view to worldly gain. Everything was converted into money. Every new saint cost England a hundred thousand crowns. A consecrated pall of an English archbishop cost twelve thousand pounds. "In the year 1250, Walter Gray, archbishop of York, paid ten thousand pounds for this mystic ornament, without which he might not presume to call councils, make chrism, dedicate churches, or ordain bishops and clerks." According to the present value of money, this sum would amount to a hundred thousand pounds. No wonder though a stringent law was passed against turning English soil into an Italian glebe. By law, the revenues of all lands held by foreign ecclesiastics were now to be given to the King. This law further declared "that all such alien enemies as be advanced to livings here in England (being in their own country shoemakers or tailors) should depart before Michaelmas, and their livings be disposed to poor English scholars." In this great movement, Wycliffe was the chief councillor of the King and his nobles.

One of the chief struggles of Wycliffe's life was against the mendicant Orders. These in their origin had many features that were commendable, but their system and the working of it in later times was most destructive to the interests of Christianity. These Orders were invested by the Pope with independent jurisdiction, and this served him well, to secure both money and power. These men travelled the country selling indulgences or pardon of sins on the easiest terms. Murderers, thieves, and robbers received pardon as soon as they paid the sum demanded. These mendicants invaded the university cities, and tried to influence the youth and get them enlisted in their Orders without the consent of their parents. They were, moreover, very ambitious. They claimed degrees on their own terms, and demanded that the statutes of the university should be changed which limited the age at which young men might become friars. Pope Urban V. favoured them in this. Wycliffe struck boldly at the root of the whole evil. He denied that Christ was a mendicant, as they affirmed. "He branded the higher Order as hypocrites who, professing mendicancy, had stately rode on noble horses, had all the pride of luxury and wealth with the ostentation of poverty."

Wycliffe was on his deathbed, as was supposed. The mendicants heard of it, and a representative deputation waited upon him with the view of getting him to recant. At first they wished his restoration to health, but soon they changed their tone, and exhorted him, as one on the brink of the grave, to make full confession and express his grief for the injuries he inflicted on their Order. When they finished, Wycliffe instructed his servant to raise him up on his pillow, and, fixing his keen eyes upon the friars, said with a loud voice, "I shall not die but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars." It is needless to say that the monks speedily retired.

The greatest and the most prominent work in the life of

Wycliffe was the translation of the Bible into English. There were copies of the Bible in England, but not in the language that the common people could understand. "I will fill England with light," said Wycliffe. "I will reopen the appointed channels of holy influence between earth and sky, and the face of the world will be renewed."

In the seventh century, Caedmon, a priest, wrote a poem in Anglo-Saxon on the contents of the Pentateuch, from the creation to the possession of the Land of Canaan. There were other paraphrases of smaller portions of the Bible by Afric and Alfred the Great. The latter in the ninth century summoned a body of learned men to translate the Scriptures into English, but he died before the work began. Bede translated the Gospel of John. His life and this work ended together. Those scraps of translations, however, were confined to the cloisters and private libraries, but never found their way into the hands of the people. Wycliffe's grand idea was to give the whole Bible to the people of England in their own language. No one had ever thought of this before. It was a stupendous task, and he had only a few years of broken health in which to accomplish it. The translation was from the Latin Bible, the "Vulgate," not from the original. While the two Popes were hurling their anathemas at each other, Wycliffe pursued his sublime work, and each day saw its portion of translation finished, and in four years the task was accomplished. Dr. Nicholas de Hereford of Oxford assisted him in his work, and is supposed to have translated the Old Testament, but his translation was revised by Wycliffe. Wycliffe himself translated the whole of the New Testament. This translation, from a literary point of view, helped much to perfect the structure of the English language, and to enlarge its vocabulary. Wycliffe is called the father of English prose, as Chaucer is styled the father of English poetry. But what was this honour compared with the greater service rendered by putting into

the hands of his countrymen the true Magna Charta of their spiritual liberty.

Wycliffe's work, however, was not ended with the translation. There was no printing press in those days. The more common way of publishing was placing a book in a convent hall where all could read it, and, if they were pleased with it and ordered a copy, it was written out for them, just as a copy of a painting is ordered in the present day. Another method of publishing was by reading a book at the public cross or by the public ways. But Wycliffe resorted to none of these means. Hundreds of willing hands wrote out copies. There were orders in full or in part for as many as could be written. This method of preaching was much more powerful than Wycliffe expected, and struck terror into the hierarchy. The reformer they could burn at the stake, but this preacher they could not so easily dispose of. Silently but surely he traversed the length and breadth of England. The priests complained that giving the Bible to men and women who could not understand it was casting pearls before swine. Great clamour was raised by the priesthood against Wycliffe, but the circulation of the Bible went on apace. Wherever it went there was a track of light, in the crowded city, in the baronial hall, in the peasant's humble home. If Wycliffe had lived a hundred years, he could not do what he now saw in course of being accomplished by the silent action of the English Bible.

In his other writings Wycliffe attacked the whole Popish system. The doctrines of indulgences, auricular confession, purgatory, and transubstantiation. The Pope he called Anti-Christ. He declared he had his power not from God but from the Emperor. The whole system, he said, should be replaced by the Apostolic, Presbyterial constitution. This bold attitude on the part of Wycliffe, together with all his actions in support of the government of England against

the Pope drew upon him the ire of that potentate, as might be expected.

Wycliffe was summoned to St. Paul's in London at the command of the Pope, to answer to the archbishop of Canterbury for his heresy, but the nobles stood by him, especially John of Gaunt, and, after some altercations between the latter and the bishop, the whole case was dismissed in the midst of much confusion. Once again he was summoned to Lambeth for the same reason. This time the nobles failed him, but the people of England stood by him. The citizens of London forced their way into the chapel, and by their looks and gestures indicated that they were prepared to defend him. In the midst of the alarm, word came by Sir James Clifford that the Princess of Wales, then at the head of the administration, prohibited the bishop from taking any further proceedings against Wycliffe.

Deposed from his chair in Oxford, stripped of his scholastic emoluments, Wycliffe retired unmolested to Lutterworth. For two years he there preached the Gospel in the vernacular to his people. "On the last Sunday of the year 1384, he was to have dispensed the Sacrament to his beloved flock, and, as he was in the act of consecrating the bread and wine, he was struck with paralysis, and fell on the pavement. This was the third attack of the malady. He was affectionately borne to the rectory, laid on his bed, and died on the 31st December, his life and the year closing together." Almost nothing is recorded of the personal incidents of his life. There are few who have acted so brilliant a part in the history of his time with so few private reminiscences. "The charm of a singular discretion and modesty appears to have characterised him." "From his portrait," says the young M'Crie, "he must have been a person of noble mien and commanding aspect, the dark piercing eye, the aquiline features and firm set lips, with the sarcastic smile that plays upon them, exactly agree with all

we know of the bold and inspiring character of the reformer." The number of books written by him, most in brief tracts or Bible booklets, was great. Two hundred of them are said to have been burnt in Bohemia. For five hundred years his writings remained for the most part in manuscript. They have been published by the Wycliffe Society, established in 1882. Taken as a scholar, a philosopher, a theologian, or a prolocutor, he is a great and outstanding man; as a reformer in the Church, he was the father of the reformers. With him the idea took shape to have the Word of God read by the people. He grasped the great central fact, that Christianity is to be extended by the preaching of the Word. Wycliffe regarded the Scriptures as God's lamp, by which light was to be given to those in darkness. It is this light that he held forth in the midst of the darkness of his age, that made him the morning star, that pointed to the dawn of the reformation day, when every man should sit under his own vine tree and read the Word of God in his mother tongue, and none make him afraid.

CHAPTER XVI.

Erasmus.

The subject of this chapter forms an introduction to our study of the sixteenth century Reformation. Perhaps no other event has transpired since the commencement of the Christian era of equal magnitude and importance to this. Like most great historical movements, the Reformation had its long time of preparation. The roots, from which it drew its strength, are traceable, not merely into past decades, but into past centuries. The Reformation was the result of forces in operation for a long period as well as the inevitable outflow of the current events in Church and State.

Political schemes and intrigues between the great powers of France, Germany, Spain, and Britain formed, no doubt, a strong and special element in this great movement, for the Church and State were so closely allied and bound up together in those days that in some cases the identity of each was obscure. But our present purpose is not to deal with that aspect of affairs so much as with two special causes at work, namely, the corruption of the Church and the revival of learning.

Since the days of Hildebrand, many bold attempts were made to effect reformation in the Church, in its head and members, but all such efforts proved practically useless. Matters went from bad to worse. The house of the Borgias clearly demonstrated how immorality, incest, and murder could be connived at in the person of the occupant of St. Peter's chair. From the close of the fifteenth and during

the first half of the sixteenth century (1492-1549) seven Popes reigned. The wickedness of Alexander VI., Borgia, cannot be described in language too strong. His successor, Pius III., enjoyed his honours but for the brief period of twenty-five days. He was the nephew of the famous Pope Æneas Sylvius, whose early life, as he himself freely confessed, had been dissolute and debauched. Pius III. commissioned the building of the famous library attached to the Cathedral at Siena, which was ornamented by magnificent frescoes, some of which are said to be by Raphael. Julius II. succeeded Pius III., and reigned for ten years. He was sixty years old when he began to reign, but he was one of the most vigorous and courageous of the whole line of the Popes. Julius shines less as a priest than as a king and soldier. The picture of this old rugged warrior in our national gallery makes it difficult for one to think of him as once the head of the Church. Julius had all the kingly virtues and a good many of the kingly vices. His whole mind worked in vast schemes. It was he who, in 1506, laid the foundation stone of St. Peter's, the grandest church in all the world. It was he who ordered for himself the magnificent tomb (now finished), one small portion of which is the wonder of the world—the single figure of Moses by Michael Angelo. It was he who brought Raphael to Rome in 1508, and set him to work at those magnificent "Stange," or chambers of the Vatican, which are the delight of painters. Julius II. successfully attempted great things for personal fame and worldly glory, but his influence in the sphere of religion and morals was of an adverse character.

Leo X., the next in order of the Popes, was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, of Florence. He was cardinal at thirteen, and Pope at thirty-seven. He was of a kind disposition, and much more fond of literature, art, and music than of political intrigue and war. He was free from the revolting vices which had degraded several of his

predecessors, but was more devoted than was fitting to profane studies, to hunting, jousting, and pageants. Sarpi, in his *History of the Council of Trent,* after praising the bearing, taste, and liberality of Leo, remarks with fine wit that "he would have been a perfect Pope if he had combined with these qualities some knowledge of the affairs of religion and a greater inclination to piety, for neither of which he manifested much concern."

Adrian VI., Leo's successor, reigned only one year. He endeavoured to reform the numerous abuses of the court and clergy of Rome. He practised a severe economy, and lived frugally. In so doing he displeased the Romans, who had been accustomed to the luxury and prodigality of Leo X.

Clement VII., the next Pope, was of the house of the Medici, and cousin of Leo X. His reign of thirteen years was in the midst of the stirring times of the Reformation. His wavering policy between Francis I. of France and Charles V., the Emperor, brought on him the sack of Rome and his imprisonment in St. Angelo. His policy of delay between the Emperor Charles and Henry VIII. of England with regard to the divorce of Catherine of Aragon resulted in the severing of the connection with Rome, and the founding of the Church of England. This last trouble probably hastened the Pope's death, which happened almost immediately after.

Paul III., the last of the Popes of this period of the Reformation, as stated at the outset, reigned for thirteen years. He was a man of great force of character, and guided the Church in a difficult time. Amongst the great events of his reign was the deposition of Henry VIII., the sanction of the Jesuit Order, and the calling of the Council of Trent. One of Paul's chief desires was to aggrandise his family, which was very considerable, but the state of manners and morals at the time was such that even a Pope having a family did not excite much remark.

Popes of immoral character, Popes who were mere warriors, Popes who were sceptics, Popes who lived in violation of the laws of the Church of which they professed to be head, having families, whose aggrandisement they advanced at the expense of principle and honour, were not the men to help towards effecting a reformation within the Church, but rather to force on the causes that resulted in the world wide deliverance of Christianity.

The Church was subject to the will of the Pope, and the people obeyed the Church in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Our school books tell us how the Emperor held the stirrup for Pope Gregory VII. to mount his mule, how our English Henry Plantagenet walked barefoot through the streets of Canterbury and knelt in the Chapter house for monks to flog him. What power the Church wielded! The clergy governed the laity, but the laity had no power over the clergy. From the throne downward, every secular office was dependent on the Church. No will could be proved except before the bishop or his officer. No will was valid if the testator died out of communion. If the priest committed a crime, he must not be tried by the law of the land but by that of the Church. If a man was even a clerk in the Church, and that meant a man that could write his name, he could claim the protection of the Church, and he could only be tried by its courts and not by the civil power. "If a man was a drunkard, if he did not come to communion, if he lied and held unlawful opinion, if he was idle, unthrifty, or unkind to his wife, or his servants, if a tradesman sold adulterated wares or used false measures or dishonest weights, the eye of the parish priest was on him, and he was called to court and punished."

When, after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, the English House of Commons complained that the clergy made laws in convocation, which, if the laity disobeyed they were excommunicated, archbishop Warham replied, "that he was

sorry for the alleged discrepancy, but in so much as the laws made by the clergy were always in conformity with the will of God, the laws of the realm have only to be altered and then the difficulty would vanish."

What an enormous power for good or evil the Church wielded! It wielded it for the latter before and at the Reformation. The priesthood was profane. When Luther was saying Mass at an altar in Rome, he heard his fellow priests muttering at the consecration of the Eucharist, "Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain."

"Many of the clergy," says Froude, "were profane scoundrels like these." Obedience to the law was dispensed with, provided certain opinions were held and certain duties punctually performed. This at death would clear off all scores, however scandalous the moral life had been. The conception of God was degraded, and as a consequence that of man and man's duty. The high prelates, the cardinals, and the great abbots were occupied in maintaining their splendour and luxury. The friars and secular clergy indulged in gross pleasures. A monk's "holy obedience," Erasmus wrote afterwards, "consists in what? In leading an honest, chaste, and noble life? Not in the least. In acquiring learning in study and industry? Still less. A monk may be a glutton, a drunkard, a whoremonger, an ignorant, stupid, malignant, envious brute, but he has broken no vow. He is within his holy obedience; he has only to be the slave of a superior as good for nothing as himself, and he is an excellent brother."

Religion was made the tool of the Church to extract money from the ignorant and people easily imposed upon. Marriage, to the fourth degree of consanguinity, was forbidden, "but loving cousins that were rich and could pay a large sum of money would be permitted to marry." There were toll gates for the funds at every meeting place on the road of life—fees at baptisms, fees at weddings, fees at

funerals. Even when a man was dead, a mortuary or death present was exacted from his family. Pilgrimages and shrines yielded a vast revenue. At a chapel in Saxony there was an image of the Virgin and child. If the worshipper came to it with a good, handsome offering, the child bowed and was gracious; if the present was unsatisfactory, the child turned away its face. At Boxley, in Kent, there was a great crucifix. The figure bowed when a good gift was presented. When the Reformation came, and the police looked into the matter, the German lady was kept as a curiosity by the Elector of Saxony, and the crucifix at Kent exhibited in Cheapside, London, and afterwards torn in pieces by the people. In the present day in Spain we have an example of how ignorant people can be imposed upon by the priesthood. For very little money, a man, it is declared, can escape 130,000 years of purgatory. There is on certain days an intimation in the church, "This day souls are taken out of purgatory." A shilling is put on a plate, the name of the person in purgatory is given, and the thing is done. A certain writer tells the story of a man coming to a priest, putting a shilling in the plate, and giving in the name of his friend. "Is my friend's soul out?" he asked. The priest said it was. "Quite sure?" the man asked. "Quite sure," replied the priest. "Very well," said the man, "if he is out of purgatory, they will not put him in again. It is a bad shilling!" If such things exist to-day in Spain, to what enormous extent they must have existed at the time under review!

The wickedness that was perpetrated within the monasteries is indescribable. The archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Morton, unable to meddle with them by his own authority, obtained the necessary power from the Pope. "The most malignant Protestant never drew such a picture of profligate brutality as Cardinal Morton left behind him in his register in a description of the great Abbey of

St. Albans. The monks were a full-fed, idle, sensual set of men. Of sin they thought only as something extremely pleasant, of which they could cleanse one another with a few mumbled words as easily as they could wash their faces in a basin." A quarter of a century after the time thus described, there appeared a remarkable book, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. The obscure men are supposed to be monks. The letters are satirical sketches of the morals and intellectual character of the times.

The very corruption of the Church worked forcibly and effectually towards a reformation. It was impossible that matters could continue to go on much longer as they were. The whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores! The corruption of head and members formed a special element in the causes of the Reformation.

There was an increasing discontent on every hand with the prevailing corruption and misgovernment in the Church, and with Papal interference with civil affairs. As far back as 1431, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, who presided as a Papal legate at Basel, wrote to Pope Eugene IV., "that, unless there would be a reform, there would be great uprising of the laity for the overthrow of a corrupt clergy." There was a deep-seated craving amongst many for a more spiritual type of religion; the freer spirit of the Gospel, which was kept alive in their hearts, gradually acquired strength sufficient to break down the barrier which a vast institution had placed in the way of direct access to God. There was a distinctive Christian element in this movement, which found its source and principle in the Holy Scriptures. If the corruption of the Church necessitated a reformation, the extraordinary awakening of intellect which followed upon the Revival of Learning demanded it. In the fifteenth century the world seemed to be roused out of its slumbers.

The meeting of Greeks and Italians at the Court of Florence in 1439, the Turkish invasion and downfall of Constantinople in 1453, gave a mighty impulse to the new movement. Immense numbers of Greek scholars fled to Italy, and were accorded an enthusiastic reception at the Vatican and in the house of the Medici. By the aid of printing, invented about 1450, the treasures of classical antiquity were made accessible to all. This was also an era of brilliant discoveries. Columbus, with the aid of the magnetic compass then coming into general use, "lifted the veil which had hung across the western horizon, and disclosed to the people of Europe another hemisphere."

During the Middle Ages, classical studies were subservient to ecclesiastical and theological ends, but now they were conducted in a thoroughly independent spirit for the purpose of universal human culture. This "humanism," emancipated from the service of the Church, assumed towards Christianity an attitude of lofty indifference, and often lost itself in a vain worship of pagan antiquity. Faith was mocked at as well as superstition. Sacred history and Greek mythology were treated alike. Learning and literature seemed in danger of breaking loose from the Church altogether, and becoming its enemy. This paganism penetrated the highest ranks of the hierarchy. Pope Leo X. is credited with saying, "How many fables about Christ have been used by us and ours through all those centuries is very well known." The Universities of Erfurt and Heidelberg afforded a congenial home for humanist studies, as did also those at Wittenberg and other minor seats of learning. Men of mark and genius like Maternus Pistorius, Ulrich von Hutten, and Rudolph Agricola, headed the movement. The delusion of the Church, the ignorance and immorality of the priesthood were exposed. The sharp weapons of the "humanists" were proving disastrous to the Church, and in so far as they served to pierce her movements and expose

her corruptions they did good service, but the tendency of the schools was in opposition to the good as well as to the evil in the Church, and in this respect the new learning became a cause of much alarm to many who loved the Bible and believed the Gospel. But God raised up men to defend the truth and protect His cause, men who could fight the enemies with their own weapons, men of learning and genius. Learning is a most dangerous weapon when used by the ungodly against the Christian faith, but no greater blessing can a Church possess than men who believe and love the truth, and who bring great gifts of learning to its defence. Of great men we have the leading representative of the age in the outstanding personality of Erasmus. None so much as he, in that age, used his own learning and shaped the learning of others for the defence and advancement of the Christian faith.

"In the year 1467," says James Anthony Froude, "about the time when William Caxton was setting up his printing press at Westminster, there was born at Rotterdam, on the 28th October, Desiderius Erasmus. His parents, who were middle class people, were well-to-do in the world. For some reason or other, they were prevented from marrying by the interference of relations. The father died soon after in a cloister, and the mother was left with her illegitimate infant, whom she called first after his father, 'Gerard,' but afterwards Desiderius Erasmus, which means the lovely child." The romantic but sad story of his parents and of his birth has been told by Charles Reade in his somewhat high coloured but entertaining and useful work, *The Cloister and the Hearth*. Erasmus' mother died when he was but a boy of tender years. There was some money left for the orphans—he had a brother Peter by name. But the trustees (like many of their kind) squandered it. They insisted upon sending the boy to a monastery. Erasmus resolved to resist. He persuaded his brother to promise to stand by him. Peter,

however, failed to do so at the last moment. Angry at his desertion, Erasmus accused him of treachery like Iscariot's, and added, "It was a pity he did not follow Iscariot's example a little further and hang himself." Erasmus hated monasteries and monks. His tastes were all for learning, his habits were simple, and his constitution delicate. Before his monastic life, when yet a boy of nine, he showed an extraordinary memory. He learned Horace and Terence by heart, and composed verses of his own. He once composed an excellent Latin letter for which he expected to be complimented. The master only told him "to mind his hand writing and attend to his punctuation." Being friendless, and expecting to have leisure to study books, he consented to become an Augustinian monk. For a time he was allowed to comfort himself in the library, but soon it was found necessary to teach him the lesson of holy obedience, and the books were taken away. He might get drunk as often as he pleased, he writes, but to study was a forbidden indulgence. Kind providence, however, rescued him from the monastic purgatory. The bishop of Cambray, by permission of the Pope, engaged him as private secretary, and proved his helpful patron for years. His patron sent him to Paris to finish his studies. He was then twenty-six years of age. Life in Paris was expensive, and Erasmus had for several years to struggle with poverty. For the most part, he carried a bold front to fortune, desponding one morning and larking the next, making friends, enjoying good company, and above all satisfying his literary hunger at the library of the University.

After two years of Parisian study and life, he accompanied two young Englishmen, Lord Mountjoy and one of the Greys, to England. Mountjoy, attracted by his brilliant talents, engaged him as his tutor. He introduced him at the Court of Henry VII. There he charmed everyone, and was charmed in turn. In the young London men he found his

own passion for learning. Sir Thomas More, who was a few years younger than himself, became his dearest friend. Warham, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher, afterwards bishop of Rochester, Colet, the famous dean of St. Paul's, and the great Wolsey himself recognised and welcomed the rising star of European literature. After spending a year and a half in England, he passed the next six years sometimes in France, sometimes in the Netherlands. He was in Italy from 1501 to 1510, then again five years in England, for the most part of that time teaching Greek at Cambridge. The peculiarities of the English people interested and amused him.

"You are going to England," he wrote afterwards to a friend. "You will find the great people there most agreeable and gracious, but do not presume too much; they will condescend to your level, but do not you therefore suppose that you stand upon theirs. Be courteous; give your right hand; do not take the wall; do not push yourself forward; smile on whom you please, but trust no one you do not know."

"English ladies are divinely pretty, and too good natured. They have an excellent custom among them, that wherever you go the girls kiss you. They kiss you when you come, they kiss you when you go; they kiss you at intervening opportunities, and their lips are soft, warm, and delicious."

When Leo X. gathered about him the great artists that made his reign so illustrious, Erasmus was invited to Rome, and was received with princely distinction. His own sovereign laid claim to his services. The future Emperor called him to the Low Countries, settled a handsome salary upon him, and established him at the University of Louvain. He was now at the zenith of his greatness, and in correspondence with popes, cardinals, kings, and statesmen. He refused every offer of official appointment, even the rank of cardinal, but in reality he held undisputed sway

in the world of letters. He undertook the enormous work of editing and translating from the writings of the Fathers, Jerome's and others. "We worship," he says, "the old shoes of the saints, but we never read their works." His book had a vast circulation. He had just published his *Colloquies*. Twenty-four thousand copies were sold immediately. The book trade was very different then, and for two centuries later books brought small reward. Shakespeare never cared to see his plays through the press. Milton got £5 only for "Paradise Lost." Even Voltaire and Goethe, with all Europe for a public, were poorly paid in money. The New Testament was as little known as the lost books of Livy. All the people knew of the Gospel, and the Epistles were the passages on which theologians had built up the Catholic formulas. Erasmus set himself to the task of publishing the text from a collection of MSS., and with it a Latin translation and a series of paraphrases, "which rent away the veil of traditional and dogmatic interpretations, and brought the teaching of Christ and the Apostles into their natural relations to reason and conscience."

"Would to God," says Erasmus, "that this work may bear as much fruit to Christianity as it has cost me toil and application." His wish was realised. Erasmus' New Testament gave forth a bright flash of light. Hitherto Greek was little known, and the Bible in Latin was in the hands of a few of the learned only, but now it was within the reach of every educated man. The paraphrases of the Epistles and of Matthew and John, the edition of Cyprian and Jerome, the translations of Origen, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and his commentary on various psalms contributed powerfully to diffuse a taste for the Word of God and for pure theology. What Erasmus did for the New Testament, Reuchlin did for the Old Testament. Reuchlin was one of the most distinguished of the humanists, a

promoter of every scientific endeavour especially in connection with the study of the original text of the Old Testament. He had soon imperishable renown. Reuchlin and Erasmus gave the Bible to the learned; Luther afterwards gave it to the people.

The monks said that Erasmus laid the egg, and that Luther hatched a cockatrice. Erasmus deeply resented such an unworthy account of his work, but it was true after all. Erasmus prepared the way for the Reformation. The influence of his writings over the mind of Europe was enormous. His theological writings, his New Testament, even his satirical writings, especially the *Praise of Folly,* dedicated to Sir T. More, made the people think. So much so that, when Luther declared his principles, they were regarded as those of Erasmus. Erasmus recognised the risk that Luther was running. "He has committed two mistakes," said Erasmus, pressing his thin lips. "He has touched the Pope's crown and the monks' stomachs." The relations in which Erasmus stood to Luther and the Reformation were peculiar, and furnish food for calm reflection. No one can help a feeling of sincere regret that Erasmus did not declare more definitely for Luther. Luther was only following out what had been the teaching of Erasmus for years. The principle of the Reformation he most heartily approved of. No one more than he spoke in scathing language against the corruption of the Church, the errors of its teaching, and the sin of interposing Pope or priest between God and the sinner. Erasmus believed in Christ alone for the saving of human souls, and yet he not only persistently refused to support Luther, but he again and again refused to express an opinion upon his teaching. "It is dangerous to speak," he said, "and dangerous to be silent." In giving an advice to a friend, he says:— "If you approve of their teaching," speaking of the Lutherans, "you should at least dissemble. Above all avoid discussion with them. A layman

should finesse with these people as the dying man did with the devil, who asked him 'What do you believe?' The poor man, fearing of being caught in some heresy if he should make a confession of faith, replied 'What the Church believes.' The devil demanded, 'And what does the Church believe?' and the man replied, 'What I believe.' Once more the devil asked, 'What do you and the Church believe?' and the man again answered, 'We believe the same thing.'"

Duke George of Saxony, Luther's worst enemy, having received an equivocal answer to a question he had put to Erasmus, said to him, "My dear Erasmus, wash me the fur without wetting it." Such was Erasmus. He would not declare himself for or against Luther, though for once he was prevailed upon to assail him on the subject of free will, a point where the reformer's extravagant language made him specially vulnerable. Erasmus displeased all parties. The Papal party felt all the ill he had done, and could not pardon him. Furious priests called him a second Lucifer. A doctor of Constance had hung his portrait in his study, that he might be able at any moment to spit in his face. Yet with all this, his contribution towards the success of the Reformation was not small. He was an able sapper, though he wanted energy to storm the breach with Luther and his associates. Erasmus did not look at questions as Luther and other reformers did. Perhaps he had not the same depth of spiritual life. He believed in reform, but he wanted that reform within the Church. He strove for it within the Church, and if any man could exert an influence with those in high quarters he could. Erasmus could—even to a Pope—write, "Let each man first amend his own wicked life; when he has done that and will amend his neighbour, let him put on Christian charity." Erasmus did not attach much importance to dogma. "Let us have done with theological refinements," he says. "Is no man to be admitted to grace who does not know how the Father differs from the Son

and both from the Spirit? Unless I forgive my brother his sins against me, God will not forgive me my sins. Unless I have a pure heart, unless I put away envy, hate, pride, avarice, lust, I shall not see God." "A man is not damned because he cannot tell whether the Spirit has one principle or two: has he the fruits of the Spirit? that is the question."

So long as the Reformation moved within the Church, Erasmus sympathised with it. It was his misfortune rather than his fault that he could not side with Luther. He objected not so much to the matter as to the manner of Luther, whose plebeian violence and roughness offended his cultured taste. Yet it seems perfectly clear that he could not appreciate his cardinal doctrine of justification by faith alone, and he took offence at the doctrine of free will and human merit. On these subjects he held Catholic views. He wished to reform the discipline but not the faith of the Church, and cared little for dogmatic controversies. It is difficult to excuse Erasmus in what appears to be his trimming policy. To say the least of it, this was an appearance of lack of moral courage.

Looking at the general question, one feels satisfied that, had Erasmus been possessed of the deep spiritual convictions of Luther, had he but a little of his heroic spirit, he would have proved a much mightier force than he did in the cause of the Reformation, and would have won, to a much greater extent, the admiration and gratitude of the noblest and best men of his own and succeeding ages. Nevertheless, Erasmus served his generation with formidable weapons and untiring activity, and were it possible to divide the share of merit in the Reformation, perhaps none would have a larger share than he. In forming an opinion of a man whose writings largely helped others to leave the sinking ship while he remained on board, much allowance must be made for his conception of the Catholic Church as a system, for his vision

of discipline, learning, and culture within the Church, and for his nervous disposition and physical weakness, which made him shrink from any duty which might expose him to suffering of body and mind. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the shortcomings of this prince of literature towards Luther and the Reformation, there is but one opinion as to his greatness as a scholar, and as to his goodness as a man. To him Christ was the sum and substance of all theology, the only true object of faith and the summit of reward. When in his closing years, if not the closing year of his life, many honours were offered to him, he wrote to a friend, "You talk of the great name I shall leave behind me. Very kind of you! But I care nothing for fame, nothing for posterity. I desire only to go home and find favour with Christ." In early life, death had seemed an ugly object to Erasmus, but when his time came, he received it with tranquillity. He died at Basel on July 12th, 1536, and was buried in state in the Cathedral.

CHAPTER XVII.

John Huss.

Bohemia forms a part of the Austrian Empire south-east of Germany. It is a mountainous country, in many respects like Scotland. Its area is about two-thirds, and its population about one and a third that of Scotland. Of its five million people, only one hundred and eighty thousand are Protestants. There are a hundred thousand Jews, and the rest are Roman Catholics. One-third of the population are Germans.

As early as the eighth century, probably in the wake of the armies of Charlemagne, the Gospel found its way to Bohemia for the first time. For five long centuries that country lay under the darkness and death of mediævalism. During the first half of the fourteenth century, however, the country began to awake out of its slumbers through the earnest preaching and pastoral work of three distinguished clergymen who laboured in and around Prague. One of these was Conrad of Waldhausen whom Charles IV. invited from Upper Austria to preach amongst the Germans. He fearlessly inveighed against the cupidity, hypocrisy, and immorality of the clergy and monks, the fraud connected with their worship, their images, relics, and shrines, and threw back upon his accusers the charge of heresy in his still extant work, *Apologia*.

Another Milic of Kromerize, in Moravia, had been secretary and sub-chancellor to King Charles, but had resigned all his revenues and offices in order to preach the Gospel in poverty and humility. Believing that the end of the world was near, he "went to Rome in 1367 to place

before Urban V. his scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation, escaping with difficulty from the Inquisition. He returned to Prague, and there applied himself with renewed zeal to the preaching of repentance. His preaching led to the conversion of two hundred fallen women, for whom he erected, with the help of the magistrates of Prague, an institution, which he called Jerusalem. He was accused before the Pope, Gregory XI., as a heretic, but before judgment had been passed on him, he died in 1374."

The third of these distinguished clergymen was Matthias of Janow who was a noble of Bohemian descent. For fourteen years he worked as preacher and pastor in Prague. He, like his immediate predecessor, Milic, preached in the native language. He lashed unsparingly the vices of the monks, the immorality of the laity, and denounced the worship of images and relics. These were great preachers of repentance, and the forerunners of the Reformation in Bohemia. "It only remains for us," says the last of them, "to wish for reformation by the destruction of Antichrist himself, and to raise our heads because our redemption is nigh."

The Bohemia of to-day is on a par with, if not indeed ahead of its neighbouring countries in general education. In this province, education is more widely diffused than in any other province of Austria, there being spread over it upwards of eight thousand schools. In the fourteenth century, Prague possessed a most distinguished University, founded and endowed in 1348 by the Emperor Charles IV. Along with the Universities of Paris and Oxford, it stood foremost of all the educational seats in Christendom. So popular was it, that it became the great centre of learning for all Germany. Its foreign outnumbered its native students, and, to the very great annoyance of the latter, outvoted them on the question of Lord Rector and professors.

Amongst the students who distinguished themselves at this university was a young man from the village of Husinec, in the south of Bohemia. At the age of twenty-four, he graduated as Bachelor of Arts, and within three years thereafter he took the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, and Master of Arts. That promising young man was John Huss, the future reformer and martyr of his country.

John Huss was born in 1369 of poor parents. When he grew out of boyhood, he betook himself to the schools at Prague, where he maintained himself like other poor scholars by "chanting and performing other subordinate services in the churches." Through several passages in his writings, we have an insight into his early life. In a singular passage on the subject of tempters who endeavour to seduce others into sin, he says, "These are the devil's spoons, by means of which he devours others, but when he is done devouring them he eats the spoon also; as when I was a poor scholar," he continues, "I used to make a spoon of a piece of bread till I had done eating my pease porridge, and then I ate the spoon." In another passage he says, "When I was a scholar, and sang vigils with others, we merely sang sufficient to get through the business." It had always been his desire to enter the clerical profession, and about the year 1401, at the age of thirty-two, he became a priest. Before his ordination, he lived, like other masters, in the university, where he occupied the position of lecturer. He took particular pleasure in wearing his academical robes, enjoyed the festive gatherings, and was an enthusiastic player of chess.

About this time there came from England two theologians, James and Conard of Canterbury, graduates of Oxford. They began public disputations on the Popes. The authorities, however, put an arrest upon their work. They were artists as well as theologians, and, having obtained their host's permission, they painted on one wall of the corridor

of the house the humble entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, and on the other the magnificence of the Pope's cavalcade. Many people crowded to see these pictures, and by noticing the contrast, they learned an object lesson which awakened new thoughts in their minds. Amongst those who visited these pictures was John Huss, and their effect upon him was to make him read more carefully than ever the writings of John Wycliffe, the master and teacher of those English theologians. Though he could only have had the slightest personal knowledge of Matthias of Janow, his writings must have been well known to him, and must, along with those of John Wycliffe, have been the means of sowing in his mind the seed which shortly afterwards produced such abundant fruit.

After his ordination, John Huss began to withdraw himself from the vanities of the world, and to comprehend in its fullness the high calling of his position. He applied himself specially to the duties of the pulpit, endeavouring, like his precursors, Milic and Matthias, to educate his hearers in the truth of Christianity, and to awaken them to a life of virtue.

A merchant in Prague, of the name of Krenz, founded in 1391 what was known as the Bethlehem Chapel, where the Gospel was to be preached in the Bohemian native language. John Huss received the appointment of preacher. The Archbishop Sbynko, who regarded him with favour, appointed him also one of the Synod preachers.

Walsnak, near Wittenberg, became at this time a most famous place of pilgrimage. Thousands of pilgrims went thither to be healed by what was alleged to be the blood of Christ. Two wafers of the communion were found in the cavity of a stone of an altar in the ruins of a church. These wafers were blood coloured, and were declared by the priests to be the very blood of Christ. John Huss was one of a commission appointed to examine into the miracles which

were said to be wrought through this blood. The imposture was exposed by the commission. A lad was said to have a miracle performed on his foot, and it was proved that the foot was worse than ever. Two blind men were asserted to have regained their sight; in this case it was made clear that they had had only a painful affection of the eye. A citizen of Prague, with a diseased hand, visited Walsnak, and presented a silver hand, but he received no benefit. He waited till the third day, when to his amazement the priest, in his presence, addressing the children from the pulpit, said, "Children, hear the miracle. A citizen of Prague has had his hand healed by the sacred blood, and in witness thereof has offered this silver hand." But the man concerned—Peter of Cachy—rose up and showed his hand, saying, "Priest, why liest thou? See, my hand is affected as it was before." The exposure of this terrible fraud and blasphemy by John Huss and his fellow commissioners put a stop, by order of the archbishop, to the miracles of Walsnak and to the pilgrimages thither.

From this time, John Huss declared and preached with great boldness against the corruption of the priesthood. Bethlehem Chapel attracted crowds of eager listeners. The sermons, carefully prepared, were full of invectives against the immorality and the wickedness of priests and people. His predecessor in the chapel, who held a benefice near Prague, and who lived in the city, was in the habit of coming to hear Huss, and take notes, with a view to finding cause for accusation. One day Huss noticed him, sitting in a grey mantle with head bent and concealing his face with his cowl. In the midst of an explanation of the difference between the laws of God and the laws of man, Huss called out to him from the pulpit, "Write that down, cowled monk, and carry it over to the bishop's palace."

The attacks Huss made upon the priests excited them against him. They accused him of having imbibed the

doctrines of Wycliffe, of teaching his view on the Sacrament adverse to the Church's doctrine of transubstantiation, and of declaring that a priest living in mortal sin should not administer it. As might be expected, the archbishop issued his sentence of condemnation. He threatened all who promulgated the tenets of Wycliffe with the heretic's death. But John Huss did not yield to fear, nor had he any reason to do so. The King was in his favour because he declared against the priesthood, whom he intensely disliked. The Queen Sophia admired him, and, as her confessor, was prepared to stand by him. He was the idol of one half of the University of Prague. Knowing all this, he could not hold his peace, for he was not only the champion of Wycliffe's free opinions, now forcing themselves into a slow popularity, but that of the Bohemian students against the German. There was a strong feeling between these two classes of students. The German professors took the archbishop's part against Huss. Thus the University of Prague was rent with feuds. At length the Bohemian faction, with Huss at their head, obtained from the King the abrogation of the privileges of the Germans in the votes for academic offices. The sullen Germans, and with them the Poles, abandoned the city. Of twenty thousand, a great part wandered to Leipzig, and there founded a rival university. Huss now became Rector of the University of Prague. His popularity triumphed even over the interests of the citizens, who suffered severely from the departure of the German students.

Huss now preached boldly and without reserve the doctrines of Wycliffe, not only against the corruption but also against the wealth of the clergy. The King heard with satisfaction the grateful Wycliffean maxim, "that the royal power was far above that of hierarchy." The archbishop and the clergy were constrained to murmur in silence, while

all Bohemia seemed to be falling off to those fearful opinions.

In 1411, Pope John XXIII., to whose presence at Constance reference has already been made, ordered a crusade against Ladislas, King of Naples, who supported his rival Pope Gregory XII., and promised plenary indulgences to all who should either take part in the war personally, or furnish pecuniary aid towards it.

In May, 1412, the Pope's legate came to Prague, and began to carry on his traffic "in God's mercy" in the manner best suited to obtain the largest and most certain gain. To make the matter easier, he farmed out the work to individual churches or priests, who took the contracts under him, paying him fixed sums, and making what they could out of the indulgences. Afterwards, Huss never lost an opportunity of speaking against this scandalous sale of indulgences, exhorting the people not to pay money for them. The towns became intensely excited. Young men spoke against the traffic, offered strenuous opposition to the Pope's legate, and declared in public meetings that he and his commissioners lied in selling the forgiveness of sin for money. Three young men were arrested, cast into prison, and condemned to death. Next morning Huss, followed by a thousand students, waited upon the magistrates, who told them that nothing would happen to the prisoners. Huss and his friends, believing that the young men were safe, took their departure, after which the youths were taken to the place of public execution and beheaded, in spite of the protests of men, women, and children, who vehemently declared that they were beheaded without sufficient cause. A charitable woman stepped forward and placed three linen white cloths over the dead bodies which were covered with blood. The crowd carried them away to the burying-ground as martyrs, singing the anthem, "They are holy."

The rebellion against the priesthood in Bohemia caused great alarm at Rome. The archbishop obtained a Bull from the Pope for the suppression of the Wycliffe doctrines. He collected two hundred of the writings of the odious English reformer, and committed them publicly to the flames. The King, however, compelled him to pay the value of the books to those from whom he had seized them by his arbitrary ecclesiastical power. Meanwhile, Huss continued to preach. He appealed from the Pope to Christ Himself, the one final, unerring judge. "I, John Huss, offer this appeal to Jesus Christ, my master and my judge, who knows, defends, and judges the just cause." The Pope summoned him to Rome, but the Bohemian King and nation would not permit him to cross the Alps, and an embassy of three theologians went in his stead. These men were cast into prison. Huss was excommunicated and Prague put under an interdict. At the request of the King, and for the sake of peace, Huss retired from Prague to the castle of one of his friends, a noble knight. This he did more than once to save bloodshed, but he was not silent in his solitude. In all the districts round the secluded castle of his retirement he preached the reformed doctrines, and he employed his spare time in giving effect to the same in writings which were scattered broadcast over the land. Many of his fellow countrymen adopted his views, the King and Queen supported him, and the archbishop deemed it the safest policy to cease opposition. Huss' views on the great doctrines of the Church were examined into and found to be orthodox, and the archbishop gave him a certificate to that effect.

At this time the great Council of Constance, which has already been described, was sitting. Its special object was to reform the Church in its head and members. With regard to the head of the Church, this object had been so far accomplished by the dethronement of the notorious Pope

John XXIII. The reforming of the members had still to be carried out. This included all heresies, as well as the simony and corruption of the priesthood. The Emperor and King of Italy, Sigismund, summoned Huss to attend the Council, binding his honour in a long document, giving him a safe conduct to go and return, no one daring to molest him. No promise could be more sacred, and, apparently, no protection more complete. How that pledge was redeemed remains to be seen. Along with this, Huss carried with him a safe conduct from his own sovereign, King Wenceslaus, and the certificates from the bishop already referred to, and another from Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of the Faith in Bohemia. But John Huss trusted in one more powerful than the kings of earth. "I confide altogether," he said, "in the all-powerful God, in my Saviour. He will accord me His holy spirit to fortify me in His trust, so that I may face with courage, temptation, prison, and, if necessary, a cruel death."

Amongst those who accompanied John Huss to Constance were three noble Bohemian knights, the most conspicuous being John of Chlum, who stood faithfully by him to the last. All along the journey, which lasted twenty-three days, from October 11th, 1414, till November 3rd, he was favourably received. In spite of their old feeling of animosity towards the Bohemians, the inhabitants of the German villages were not only curious, but glad to see and welcome the heretic. Crowds listened to him with eagerness as he expounded his views and declared his orthodoxy. The seed he thus sowed by the wayside afterwards yielded much fruit. On his arrival at Constance, he was graciously received by the Pope, who assured him that, though he were the murderer of his own brother, he would secure him a fair hearing at the Council, and would not permit him to suffer any harm at Constance. But this assurance of the Pope and the safeguard of the King failed to protect John Huss. Within

twenty-five days he was sentenced to imprisonment at a private conference of the cardinals, on the pretended charge of an attempt at flight. He was imprisoned first in the Dominican cloister, then in the Bishop's Castle at Gottleiben, where he was put in chains, and where—strange irony of fate—he had as his fellow prisoner, the deposed Pope. No wonder that he could not make good his promise to Huss. He could not defend himself. Huss' prison cell was of the foulest description. It was above a sewer, which produced fever that so weakened him that his enemies, fearing that he would succumb, had him removed to a less pestilential abode. In spite of his weakness and suffering, he wrote several tracts in defence of his position, which were eagerly circulated among his friends and foes. Several attempts were made to set him at liberty. The King, on hearing that his safeguard was ignored by the cardinals, flew into a passion, and declared that he would break open the prison door. But he was too weak, as well as too dishonourable to carry out his threat, even if it were sincere. The Church told him that he had no right to grant a safeguard to a heretic. The friend of Huss, the knight John of Chlum, exerted himself to the utmost on his behalf. A document arrived from Bohemia with two hundred and fifty seals adhibited of the most powerful nobles in the land, protesting against the action of the Church and the violated promise of the Emperor, but all to no purpose. His greatest enemies were countrymen of his own, Michael de Causis and Stephen Palec, the latter a fellow student and once a professed friend and supporter. He extracted from the writings of Huss forty-two points for accusation. Forty-five propositions from Wycliffe's writings, which had been condemned six years before by the University of Prague, and which Huss was accused of adopting, were condemned by the Council. The two great reformers of the University of Paris, Gerson and D'Ailly, were opposed to him. For almost

seven months he was harassed by private examinations, in which, notwithstanding his decided repudiation of many of them, he was charged with all imaginable Wycliffe heresies. At last, on June 5th, 1415, he was for the first time granted a public trial. But the tumult of the sitting was so great that he was prevented from saying a single word. Even on the two following days of the trial, he could do little more than make a vain protest against being falsely charged with errors and declare his willingness to be better instructed from God's word. John Huss never lost his presence of mind before the Council. When an opportunity presented itself, which was but rare, he showed up the weakness of his opponents. When, loaded with chains, he reminded the Council of the safe conduct of the King, and looked him straight in the face, the King winced and could not help manifesting signs of shame and confusion. When taunted by one of the cardinals for saying that he came to Constance of his own free will, and that neither King nor Emperor could have compelled his appearance, a fierce murmur ran through the Assembly, whereupon rose John of Chlum, and said, "John Huss speaks truth. I am one of the least of the nobles of Bohemia. In my castle I would have defended him for a year against all the forces of Emperor or King, how much more stronger, mightier than I with castles more impregnable."

The heresy of which Huss was accused was not made out against him. His views on the Sacrament of the Supper were very much in accord with the Church, and entirely different from those of Wycliffe. He believed in the perpetual miracle of the Host, and declared that he never said that after consecration the bread was material bread. He contended for the cup for the laity instead of the mere bread in the form of wafers. But the main point on which Huss differed from the Church, and which was at the root of the Reformation, was the making of the Holy Scriptures

the first and great authority. This struck at the foundation of the spiritual power of the hierarchy. By his doctrine touching ecclesiastical revenues and possessions, he also undermined the temporal power. Repeated attempts even to the last failed to make him recant or sign any form of abjuration which would violate his conscience or contradict the teaching and testimony of his life. The last snare laid for him was simply to submit to the authority of the Council, nothing being said about heresy. "If the Council should tell you," said a cardinal, "that you have but one eye, you would be obliged to agree with the Council." "But," replied Huss, "as long as God keeps me in my senses, I would not say such a thing even though the whole world would require it, because I could not say it without wounding my conscience."

Had Huss bowed before this infallibility of the Council, never again could he have lifted up his head before his own conscience, before his countrymen, and before his Saviour. But God gave him strength to keep faith with his word and his conscience. In this he was greatly comforted by his loyal friend, John of Chlum, who said to him, when he went with four bishops at the request of the King to hear his final determination. "See, magister John, we are laymen, and cannot advise you. Look, therefore, if you feel yourself guilty in any of the matters laid to your charge, that you fear not to be instructed with respect to them, and recant. If, however, your conscience tells you that you are not guilty, do not in any wise act against your conscience or lie in the sight of God, but rather stand even unto death in the truth which you have known." And unto death he did stand.

On July 6th, nine months after his arrival at Constance, John Huss stood before the Council in the Cathedral to receive his final sentence. The bishop of Ostia, after preaching a sermon on the text, "That the body of sin might be destroyed," looked to the Emperor and said, "It

is thy glorious office to destroy heresies and schisms, especially this obstinate heretic," pointing at the same time to Huss, who was kneeling on an elevated platform and engaged in prayer. The bishop concluded with condemning him to be degraded and despoiled of his order. Huss, as he rose from his knees, uttered an earnest prayer to God to pardon his enemies. Some of the older priests and even bishops looked sternly at him and laughed his prayer to scorn. Huss was then attired in all his priestly garments, and led, with the cup in his hand, to the high altar as if about to celebrate Mass. At this point Huss said, "They put a white robe on our Lord to mock Him when Herod sent Him to Pilate." Once more the bishops implored him to recant, but he declined for the same reasons alleged before. The cup was then taken from his hand. "Accursed Judas, thou hast diverted the way of peace," they said. "We take away this cup in which the blood of Christ is offered for the redemption of souls." Huss replied, "I trust that I shall drink it this day in the Kingdom of Heaven." After cutting his tonsure with scissors, in the midst of much wrangling, they put upon his head a high paper crown, daubed over with devils. Then they exclaimed, "We commit thy body to the flames and devote thy soul to the devils in hell." "And I commit my soul," said the martyr, "to the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ." As he was led away to the stake, his attention was drawn to a pile on which his books lay burning. He only smiled at this ineffectual act of vengeance. When tied with a chain to the stake, he was again urged to recant, but he replied that he willingly signed his testimony with his blood. As the fire blazed up, it is said than an old woman was busy heaping up the wood upon it. "Oh, holy simplicity," exclaimed Huss. The historian, Poggio Bracciolini, secretary to the Council, says that he bore himself with constant mind when his last hour approached. He prepared for the fire as if he were

going to a marriage feast. He uttered no cry of pain, and when the flames rose he began to sing hymns and scarce could the vehemency of the fire stop his singing—Huss had given up the Ghost. But three times had the fire to be rekindled before his body, and especially his head, was burned. When all was over, the ashes were carefully collected, even the soil was dug up and carted into the Rhine, so anxious were the persecutors that not a vestige of Huss should remain. Yet some faithful friends scraped some earth from around the pile and carried it off to Bohemia. "When the martyr bowed his head at the stake," says Dr. Wylie, "it was the infallible Council that was vanquished. It was with Huss that the victory remained, and what a victory! Heap together all the trophies of Alexander and Cæsar, what are they all when weighed in the balance against this one glorious achievement? From this stake of Huss, what blessings have flowed and are still flowing to the world! From the moment he expired amidst the flames, his name became a power which will continue to speed on the great cause of truth and light till the last shackle shall be rent from the intellect, and the conscience, emancipated from every usurpation, shall be free to obey the authority of its rightful Lord. 'Huss is dead,' say his enemies. 'The Rhine has received his ashes, and is bearing them on its rushing floods to the ocean, there to bury them for ever.' No, Huss is alive! It is not death but life he has found in the fire. His stake has given him not an entombment, but a resurrection. The winds as they blow over Constance are wafting the spirit of the confessor and martyr to all the countries of Christendom. The nations are being stirred, Bohemia is awakening. A hundred years, and Germany and all Christendom will shake off their slumber; liberty of conscience still triumphs, and the torch of truth shall burn and shine in every land."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Jerome of Prague.

"I trust in God my Creator, that one day after this life, you see me preceding you, and summoning you all to judgment, and then you must render your account to God and to me if you have proceeded against me wrongfully. In dying, I shall leave a sting in your hearts and a gnawing worm in your conscience."

Such were the solemn and awe-inspiring words of Jerome before leaving the brilliant assembly of the Council of Constance in the month of May, 1415. Jerome was a distinguished scholar; he had studied at Oxford, Paris, and the best universities in Germany. So great was his reputation for learning that he was commissioned by Wladislaus II., King of Poland, to organise the new University of Cracow in 1410, and Sigismund, King of Hungary, invited him to preach before him in Buda. Jerome held the doctrines of Wycliffe, attached himself to the cause of Huss, and denounced the abuses of the Church. He went fearlessly to Constance, with the view of helping his friend Huss, who was on his death trial before the Council. He was arrested at Hirschau, imprisoned, and treated with cruel severities. For three hundred and forty days, he pined away in a dark and noisome prison. No wonder that, weakened as he was in body and mind by such horrible treatment, a partial condemnation of the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss was wrung out of him. How bitterly he repented of this!

His story is very similar to that of our own Cranmer. On his final defence, he spoke with such eloquence, logic,

and resources of memory, that even his bitterest enemies could not withhold their tribute of admiration. He said, "I knew Huss from his childhood; he was a most excellent man, just and holy; he was condemned notwithstanding his innocence; he ascended to heaven like Elias in the midst of flames, and from thence he will summon his judges to the dread tribunal of Christ. I also am ready to die. I will not recoil from the torments which are prepared for me by my enemies and false witnesses, who will one day have to render an account of their impostures before the great God whom nothing can deceive." And so Jerome was ready to die. On arriving at the spot where Huss had suffered martyrdom, he offered up a long and fervent prayer. When being fastened to the stake, he sang a spiritual song in praise of the day that brought him martyrdom. Lest he might see the fire set to the pile, it was lighted behind him. "Light it before my eyes," he said to the executioner. "If I had been afraid of this fire, I should not have been here." His last words were, "Lord, have pity upon me; forgive my sins, for thou knowest I have sincerely loved thy truth. Into thy hands, O God, I commit my spirit." No Stoic ever faced death with so firm a soul. Jerome endured the torments of the fire with more tranquillity than Socrates displayed in drinking his cup of hemlock.

As the King of Babylon said to Nehemiah, "Why is thy countenance sad?" so said Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, to his Chamberlain, John Froczrowski, better known by the name of Ziska, the one-eyed, as with pensive brow and folded arms he paced the corridors of his palace. "What is this?" said the King. "Why are you so sad?" "I cannot brook," replied Ziska, "the insult offered to Bohemia at Constance by the murder of John Huss and Jerome." "Where is the use," said the King, "of vexing oneself about it? Neither you nor I have the means of avenging. But,"

continued the King in a joke, "if you are able to call the Emperor and Council to account, you have my permission." "Very good, my gracious master," rejoined Ziska. "Will you be pleased to give your permission in writing?" The King, thinking that a document would be perfectly harmless in the hands of one who had neither friends nor money nor soldiers, gave Ziska what he asked under the royal seal.

Ziska was an old soldier who had distinguished himself in the wars of Poland. He was a farmer's son. His mother, visiting the reapers one day was suddenly taken ill, and gave birth to him in a field, under an oak tree. The trunk of this oak tree stood till the beginning of last century. It had well nigh been carried off by the blacksmiths in the neighbourhood, who believed that a splinter taken from it and attached to their hammer would give additional weight to their strokes. Ziska, with the royal permission, waited his opportunity. He had not long to wait. Affairs in Bohemia had assumed a most serious aspect. The fate of the two great reformers in Constance roused intense indignation. The Bohemians instituted an anniversary to commemorate the martyrdom of their countrymen. The Pope fulminated his Bull of Crusade against the Hussites. Great excitement followed. Measures were adopted to avenge the nation's insulted honour. Ziska assumed the leadership of the reforming party, between whom and the Catholic priesthood feeling ran very high. Factions became more embittered; tumults and massacres broke out in Prague. The senators took refuge in the Town-house. They were thrown out of the windows and received on the pikes of the insurgents. The King, on hearing the news, took a fit of apoplexy and died in a few days. The heir to the throne of Bohemia now was Sigismund, the Emperor of Germany, and the late King's brother. The treachery of Sigismund towards Huss was not forgotten by his countrymen. They resisted the new King, and, within two

years, he was driven from the country. The reforming party acted in a spirit of vengeance for the death of Huss, their chief. They rushed into the monasteries and wrecked every image and relic. The most beautiful churches, with their choicest ornaments, were burned without remorse.

The Council of Constance, the destroyer of Huss, had sanctioned the practice of administering the consecrated wafer in the Lord's Supper without the wine. The Bohemians resisted this decree, and in so doing were but holding by the views of Huss, who maintained that administration should be in both elements. They disapproved of withholding the cup from the laity. For this reason they were called Calixtines or Utraquists. Ziska displayed on his banner the communion cup. An open-air communion was celebrated at Tabor, a hill resembling in form the ancient Tabor in the East. There forty-two thousand Hussites received the sacramental wine in wooden chalices or cups at the hands of unvested priests.

The obscure Bohemians for the next twelve years proved themselves the greatest generals of the age. Under Ziska, a peasant force, at first armed with only scythes and flails, routed repeatedly armies of a hundred thousand to two hundred thousand men. The one-eyed general, Ziska, seemed unconquerable. When he became totally blind, having lost his remaining eye in the war, he would gather his officers around him in his tent, ascertain from them the nature of the ground and the position of the enemy. He would then draw out their plan of battle, in which they were always victorious. He was stricken down by a pestilence before the war was finished, and his skin, it is said, was converted into a drum cover to lead the armies to victory. Ziska was followed in the leadership of the army by Procopius, a no less distinguished general. Under him the Hussites acted no longer on the defensive. They advanced on the West, they ravaged Austria, Hungary, and

Saxony, and burned Coburg and Bayreuth. Twice huge crusading armies which were marched against Procopius fled almost without striking a blow. Sigismund gave up all hopes of reducing Bohemia.

The Vatican and the German Emperor failed to conquer the brave Bohemians by armies of vast numbers; but ecclesiastical stratagem will conquer where arms have failed. The leaders of the Hussites were summoned to a friendly conference to the Castle of Basle. After a long discussion upon the claims of the reformers, which they stoutly maintained, and to which great but not sufficient concessions were made, it was agreed that the Council of Basle should be represented at Prague, and try still to see eye to eye with the Hussite reformers. The famous Four Articles of Prague were at last accepted by the Council. They provided that the Word of God should be freely preached; that the sacraments should be administered in both kinds; that priests and monks should be divested of their worldly goods; and that strict Church discipline should be maintained. These gains looked well for the reforming party; but there was a snake in the grass. The Council persuaded the Hussites to accept the interpretation of the Church on these Articles, as to their meaning and application—a fact that took the soul out of them, and led to much serious division and latterly to civil war amongst the Bohemians. The Taborites were vanquished, and their leader, Procopius, killed. Henceforward the power remained in the hands of the less eager reformers, who were disposed to play into the hands of Rome. The history of Bohemia through the fifteenth century is, however, a long record of bitter and bloody conflicts, issuing in the restoration of uniformity in religion. In such and similar troubles the remaining years of the century were passed, and after that the history of Bohemia merges in the general stream of the Reformation.

We return once more to the Council of Constance. The

special work it charged itself with was the disposal of the three Popes. John XXIII. was deposed. Four years thereafter, in 1415, Gregory XII. submitted and was made cardinal bishop of Porto. Benedict XII. held out till the last. Meanwhile the cardinals selected a new Pope, Martin V. in 1417. Before his elevation, he was led to understand that the Council was bent upon the reformation of the Council in her head and members, and he promised to aid in carrying out their views. These were many in the Council, amongst them Sigismund, who were determined to effect reform before the appointment of the Pope, but they were over-ruled. The Pope once installed showed his independence. With great pomp the Council was closed and indulgences granted to its members. As the whole west now recognised Martin as the true Pope, the Schism may be said to have terminated with his accession, though Benedict XII. continued to thunder anathemas from his strong Spanish castle till his death in 1424.

The Pontificate of Martin V. was regarded afterwards by the Romans as a golden age. He rescued the city from the anarchy and wretchedness consequent on the Schism; restored churches, erected streets and public buildings, and so distinguished his rule by vigour and justice as to earn the title of Rome's third founder. Abroad he bore a different reputation. Martin clung to every shred of the hated Papal prerogatives, and specially favoured France and England with encroachments on national rights. It was mere policy that made Martin summon the Council of Basle, that guided the latter in its dealings with the incorruptible Hussites. But the Council did more than settle the great Bohemian controversy. It directed its attention towards the reforms that the minority of the Council of Constance demanded. Meanwhile Pope Martin V. died. His successor, Eugenius IV., became alarmed at the dangerous activity of the Council. He attempted to dissolve it, but

his own legate, Cardinal Julian Cesarine, resisted him. The Pope's effort was also met by the Council by a re-affirmation of the doctrine of Constance that the Assembly could not be dissolved, transferred, or prolonged, without its own consent. The Pope withdrew the Bull of Dissolution. His legates were admitted after swearing that all men were subject to Council authority. The Council denounced the Papal machinery for money making, such as reservations, annates, expective appointments, and usurpations of patronage. It also laid down severe rules for the election of Popes and their conduct in office. This was too much for Eugenius to bear. Accordingly, he and his friends broke off connection with Basle and formed a Council of their own at Ferrara. Meantime the determined reformers went on apace. They deposed the Pope, and elected Amadeus, the wealthy Duke of Savoy, who had become and was now a hermit knight. Amadeus, the last of the anti-Popes, was crowned at Basle in 1440 with the title Felix V., but the great powers did not acknowledge him. Soon the Council lost its leading members, who espoused the cause of Eugenius. It became lifeless long before its formal dissolution in 1449. The rival Council at Ferrara was adjourned to Florence. The Pope turned his attention towards the old vexed question of union between the Eastern or Greek Church and the Western or Latin Church, in spite of the deep-rooted antipathies of the two. The Emperor John, Palæologus II., made overtures to Eugenius for union. The Emperor of Constantinople, for that was practically all that now remained to him of the once Eastern Empire, was hard pressed by the Turks, who might any day seize the capital, and thus annihilate the Empire and destroy the Church. The overtures were willingly responded to, but the Council of Basle were as ready as Eugenius to take steps towards the union. They claimed to be the representatives of the Western Church. The Greek Emperor,

John II., had thus two strings to his bow, and for a time played into the hands of the two Councils as best suited him. At last, finding that Eugenius could best serve his purpose, he decided to treat with him. Accordingly, at the head of a great retinue of seven hundred persons, he landed in Venice in 1438, and thence passed to the Council of Ferrara, but few of the Greeks whom he had brought with him were inwardly cordial to the establishment of a union. Four chief errors were ascribed to the Greeks. These concerned the procession of the Holy Ghost, purgatory, the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, and the primacy of the Pope. The most lengthy and difficult debate was on the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Latin Church maintained that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son; the Greeks that He proceeded from the Father only. It was proved by the Greeks that the phrase *filioque*, added to the Nicene formula, was a forgery. At last the Greeks acknowledged the equal authority of the formula *a patre et filio* and *a patre per filium*, found in the Fathers, *i.e.*, that the phrases "from the father and the son," and "from the father through the son," meant much the same. Urged on by their Emperor, the Greeks consented to subscribe the statement of doctrine whose phraseology was sufficiently comprehensive to shelter their own beliefs. They also consented to subscribe to a declaration of the primacy of the Pope, saving all the rights and privileges of the four patriarchs of the East. Eugenius in turn promised to maintain for the defence of Constantinople two galleys and three hundred soldiers. This was all that the Emperor could procure to offer to his people, who were indignant at his base desertion of orthodoxy.

Only fifteen years after the return of the Emperor John Palæologus to the East, Constantinople was a Mohammedan city. The famous Church of St. Sophia, which disdained to be polluted by the *filioque* in the creed, resounded un-

rebuked with the Islamic chant, "There is but one God and Mohammed is his prophet."

A famous Italian, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was Secretary to the Council of Basle, and one of its leading spirits, turned traitor to the interests of that Council, and espoused the cause of Eugenius against the anti-Pope, Felix V. By translations which will not bear examination and which certainly involved alteration of State documents, in addition to other evil practices, he induced the whole of Germany to declare against Felix, the anti-Pope. But Eugenius lived long enough only to sign the treaty of reconciliation with the Emperor Sigismund. He is said to have exclaimed on his deathbed, "O Gabriel, better had it been for your soul if you had never been cardinal, never Pope, but continued to practise the religious discipline of your monastery." The Pope was dead, the monks still lived.

From the death of Eugenius in 1447 to the close of the fifteenth century, seven Popes reigned. With the exception of three, their lives and reigns were uneventful. These three, Nicholas V., Pius II., and Alexander VI. shall now be briefly referred to.

The cardinal of Bologna was forty-eight years old when he became Pope Nicholas V. His rise to honour had been rapid—bishop, cardinal, Pope in three successive years. He was known as the lover and liberal patron of letters. When five years after his succession the jubilee year came, and the Pope beheld thousands of pilgrims flocking to Rome, he could reflect with gratitude on the fact that the Papacy had survived the Schism and the reforming Council, and that now it seemed to be regaining its ancient position and influence in Europe. It was the purpose of Nicholas V. to give strength and stability to the Papal power, and he erected fortresses in the lands of the Church and strengthened the walls of the capital. He adorned not only Rome but also other cities with magnificent buildings.

The literary impulse which was destined to turn the current of reformation into a new channel begins with this Pontificate. The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, however disastrous to Christianity, greatly assisted the intellectual movement. The Greek fugitives found a ready welcome in Italy, and by the revival of Greek letters the protracted supremacy of the schoolmen was gradually undermined. Nicholas himself enriched the Vatican library with five thousand manuscripts, and his researches brought to light many classical treasures. The Pope patronised art as well as literature. Painters, sculptors, and architects flocked to Rome. The new cathedral of St. Peter's was in contemplation, and the Pantheon was being restored. In accordance with Nicholas' plan, Rome was to be a missionary of culture to Europe, and so was to disarm suspicion and regain prestige. But Rome, for which he had done so much, almost broke out into open rebellion against him. The last two years of his life were embittered by his melancholy reflections on the capture of Constantinople, and his own ineffectual attempts to unite the West in a crusade against the Turks. When Nicholas died, Æneas Sylvius was inciting Europe to a crusade for the recovery of Constantinople out of the hands of the Turks. Æneas Sylvius was himself made Pope in 1458, under the title Pius II.

Pius II. was a remarkable man—wily, learned, shrewd, and energetic; a frivolous worldly humanist, who threw himself into the interests of the restored Papacy with the same adroitness as he had formerly done into those of the Council. At an early period of his history, Æneas was dispatched on a special mission to Scotland. His ship was driven towards the coast of Norway. A lucky north wind brought them to the Forth. In a fit of devout gratitude, Æneas walked bare-foot ten miles to the Church of Our Lady at Whitkirk, near Dunbar, but suffered so much from exhaustion and numbed feet, that he hardly got to Court.

He was received by the King (James I.) with great favour, and obtained the object of his mission. The Italian's (for Æneas was an Italian) description of Scotland is rather interesting. "Scotland," he says, "is a cold country, producing little corn, and almost without wood. They dig out of the earth a kind of sulphurous stone which they burn. Their cities have no walls, their houses are mostly built of mortar, their roofs of turf, the doors of the cottages bulls' hides. The common people are poor and rude, with plenty of flesh and fish. Bread is a delicacy. The men are small and bold, the women of white complexion. They had only imported wine. They export to Flanders hides, wools, salt-fish, and pearls. The Scots are delighted with nothing so much as the abuse of the English. Scotland is divided into two parts—one cultured, the Lowlands, one forest, the Highlands, without corn fields. The forest Scots spoke a different language and lived on the bark of trees."

"Wonderful and unparalleled grace of God," says Æneas' biographer, supposed to be himself, "that one man should be secretary to two Popes, to an Emperor and an anti-Pope." Æneas ascribes humbly the glory to God, as if his own plotting and craft had nothing to do with it. This Pope had the loosest idea of morals. When guilty of the most outrageous behaviour before his advancement, he sheltered himself under the vices of the Old Testament saints. In matters of honest dealing, he does not conceal his own falsehood—"When all are false, we must be false too," he said. "We must never take men as they are." Before he was made Pope, he had a parochial cure in a valley in the Tyrol. It was accessible only up one wild glen, covered with snow and ice three parts of the year. His parishioners were a simple people; cattle was their only wealth; some of them had never tasted any liquor but milk; some lived a great way from the church. If they died, their bodies were laid out and became frozen. In spring

the curate went round and collected these bodies into one procession, and buried them all at once in the churchyard. Æneas does not flatter the morality of his parishioners. He did nothing to correct it. In this frozen valley he learned to be as happy as in the palace of kings, and certainly he had much more peace. Few figures in history have shown themselves so capable as he to change and shift his position, religiously, ecclesiastically, and politically. In his latter days he went right in the teeth of the actions of his earlier years. When occupying the Papal chair, he carried out the views that he opposed so strenuously in the Council of Basle. He was a turncoat of the most pronounced order. The fate of Constantinople alarmed him much. He wrote himself a letter to Mohammed, imploring him to exchange his religion for Christianity. He continued till the end of his life to urge Europe to a crusade against the Turks. When all other sources were of no avail, he resolved, feeble as he was, to put himself at the head of a crusading army, but he lived only long enough to reach the shores of the Adriatic and to gaze upon the fleet of the Venetian allies.

The last of the three Popes referred to is Alexander VI. Cardinal Borgia ascended the Papal throne under this name. He did so by bribing each cardinal at the stipulated price. Four mules loaded with silver publicly entered the palace of the most influential of them. Immediately on assuming power, his two sons were respectively made Duke of Benevento, and cardinal archbishop of Valentia. The latter, Peter Lewis, was assassinated by the agents of his brother, Cæsar Borgia. This was not enough; his brother-in-law stood in the way of this man's promotion. One day Cæsar caused him to be stabbed on the very stair of the Pontifical Palace. He was carried bleeding to his own apartments. His wife and sister did not leave him; a guard was set at the door. Cæsar ridiculed this precaution, and remarked, "What is not done at dinner will be done at supper." He

gained admission one day into the room, turned out the wife and sister, and calling in his executioner, Michilotto, ordered his brother-in-law to be strangled before his eyes. His father's favourite, Perotto, offended Cæsar. One day he rushed upon him; Perotto took refuge under the Pope's mantle. Cæsar stabbed him, and the blood of his victim spurted on the face of his father. "The Pope," adds a contemporary, an eye witness of these scenes, "loves the Duke his son, and lives in great fear of him." Cæsar was the handsomest and strongest man of his age, but also the most fiendish. Secret assassination or poison carried off all and every one against whom he had a grudge or who opposed him. All this was connived at by the Pope. The spot on earth where iniquity had attained its height was the throne of the Pontiff. The dissolute entertainments given by Pope Alexander, his son Cæsar, and Lucretia, his daughter, cannot be described or even thought of without shuddering. There is no wickedness or brutality of which historians do not accuse Pope Alexander and his family. This man prepared poison in a box of sweetmeats that was to be served up after a sumptuous repast. The cardinal for whom it was intended, being forewarned, gained over the attendants, and the box of poison was set before Alexander himself. He ate of it and died. "The whole city ran together, and could not satiate their eyes with gazing at the dead viper." Such was the man who filled the Papal chair at the beginning of the century in which the Reformation burst forth.

The teaching, doctrine, and morals of the Church were to a large extent in keeping with the character of its heads. As the Popes, so the priests; and as the priests, so the people. With most of the teachers of religion, the sufferings and merits of Christ were looked upon as an idle tale or as the fictions of Homer. Impositions of all kinds were practised to fill the coffers of the Church. There were as many resorts for pilgrims as there were mountains and valleys. The

deluded people brought to the convents and to the priests money and everything that had any value. Relics were multiplied by hundreds, and even by thousands. In one church, All Saints at Wittenberg, there were over nineteen thousand relics, all used for the purpose of extracting money from rich and poor. There were shown fragments of Noah's Ark, some soot from the furnace of the three Hebrew children, a piece of wood from the cradle of Jesus Christ. Such relics as these were hawked about by men who paid a stipulated sum to their owners.

The spirit of profanity also invaded the religion of the age. There were revels at Easter that held a distinguished place in the records of the Church. The festival of the resurrection, said the priests, ought to be celebrated with joy. The preacher studied what would make the people laugh. One preacher imitated the notes of the cuckoo in the pulpit, and another hissed like a goose. Immorality was rampant. In many places the priest paid the bishop a regular tax for indulging in immorality. A German bishop once said publicly at a great entertainment that in one year eleven thousand priests presented themselves to him to pay this tax. A bishop of Dunkeld asserted that all heresies arose from learning Greek and Hebrew. Greek, he said, is a new and recently invented language, and as for Hebrew, it is certain that all who learn it immediately become Jews. Thomas Linacre, a learned and celebrated ecclesiastic, had never read the New Testament. In his latter days, at the close of the fifteenth century, he called for a copy, but he quickly threw it away from him with an oath, because in opening it his eyes glanced upon these words, "But I say unto you, swear not at all." Now he was a great swearer. "Either this," he said, "is not the Gospel or we are not Christians."

Such is but the smallest peep into the religion and morals of the Popes, priests, and people of the fifteenth century

Church. There were, however, noble exceptions amongst priests and people; much cannot be said for the Popes. There were men who feared God, men who prayed and worked for the coming of the Kingdom of their Lord and Saviour; men who were ready to suffer the loss of all things, even of dear life, for the sake of the Gospel. These were the leaven that God prepared and used to leaven the whole lump; these were the shining lights that shone more and more until the daybreak of the Reformation came and the shadows fled away.

CHAPTER XIX.

Savonarola.

The deserted aspect of modern Ferrara, one of the chief historic towns of Italy, with its lonely grass-grown streets, makes it difficult to realise the splendour of the capital of the house of Este in the fifteenth century. Then it was a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants; its population has dwindled down to about seventy-five thousand. Its Court, one of the most famous in Italy, was continually visited by princes, emperors, and popes, and was the scene of interminable festivities. In its palace halls, gaiety was paramount, and the celebrities of the age were amongst its honoured guests, but beneath its lowest hall were dungeons where the light of day never entered. They were filled with hundreds of human beings whose life was a lingering death. When they were tortured, their groans might be heard in the pauses of merriment and joy above. A thoughtful youth, who was accustomed to accompany his father to these festivities, once heard those groans and visited the palace no more. That youth was Savonarola.

Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara on September 1st, 1452. He was descended from a family of noble lineage originally resident in Madrid. His grandfather, a distinguished physician, destined him for that profession, of which many of his long family line were brilliant members. With patience, this wise old scientist devoted himself to the development of his grandson's intellect. The boy soon rewarded this devotion by showing a true passion for study. Unfortunately, his grandfather died, and he was left

to the sole guidance of his father, a less wise man, who began to instruct him in philosophy. The works of Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle fascinated the ardent youth.

There dwelt at that time close to his home a Florentine exile of the illustrious name of Strozzi, who had an illegitimate daughter. When Savonarola's eyes met the glance of this young Florentine maiden, he felt that first inward stirring of the heart by which men win belief in earthly happiness. Full of ardour and confidence, he revealed his feelings to the object of his passion. "A Strozzi may not stoop to alliance with a Savonarola" was the cold reply. He met the insult with words of burning indignation, but his heart was none the less touched by it.

This love episode of Savonarola's youth lessened his desire for human happiness and his faith in human friendship. The misery of his countrymen, the tortures of the prisoners in the palace dungeon haunted him like a nightmare. "He began," says one of the biographers, "to lead a solitary life, going about dejected and disconsolate, rarely speaking, wasting in body, praying constantly with much fervour, passing many hours in the churches, in the open fields, and along the banks of the Po." The plan of forsaking the world and seeking refuge in religion was already pressing on his mind. A sermon preached by an Augustinian friar decided him to devote himself to the monastic life. In solitude he strengthened this resolution, though he afterwards wrote to his father, "Never since I was born did I suffer so great mental anguish as when I felt I was about to leave my own flesh and blood, and go amongst people who were strangers to me. So great was my pain and misery that if I had laid open my mind to you I honestly believe that the very thought that I was about to leave you would have broken my heart."

One day, taking his lute in hand, he sang to its accompaniment so sad an air that his mother, to whom he was

passionately attached, was inspired with a foreboding of the truth, and, turning suddenly to him, exclaimed, "O, my son, this is a token that we are now to part." But he, making an effort, continued to touch the strings with trembling fingers, never once raising his eyes to her. The following day, in the absence of his parents, who were attending the festival of St. George, he set forth to Bologna, where he was admitted into the monastery of St. Dominic. He was then twenty-three years of age, of middle height, dark complexion, of a bilious temperament, and a most highly strung nervous system. Although his countenance had no beauty of line, it expressed severe nobility of character. He was worn by fasting. Even on the days not appointed for abstinence he scarcely ate enough to support life. His bed was a grating with a sack of straw on it and one blanket. His clothing was of the coarsest kind, but strictly clean. The fervour of his devotions excited the wonder of all his superiors.

Savonarola had passed seven years in the Dominican monastery of Bologna when war and a threatened massacre at Ferrara drove him to Florence. It was with this city that his great work was to be associated. Here, for sixteen years, he acted the part of a distinguished reformer in Church and State.

There are cities in the world which, like some people, possess a peculiar attraction, and have in themselves and in their associations a fascination for all who know them. For Rome, for Athens, for Jerusalem, men have been found willing to die. For Florence her citizens had an affection which was the motive power of their lives. Even a stranger on visiting Florence must feel a spell thrown over him. Every building is an undisturbed monument of her past. Has she not produced more celebrated men than any other town in Italy or perhaps in the world, among others, Dante, Michael Angelo, Galileo, Cosmo Machiavelli, Lorenzo de

Medici, Popes Leo X. and XI., and Clement VII., VIII., and XII.? The great square of Florence is lined with the statues of the poets, painters, philosophers, historians, statesmen, men of science, architects, and sculptors, who were her ancient citizens.

In the early part of the fifteenth century, there lived in Florence a distinguished family of the name of Medici, one of whose members, Cosmo, distinguished himself by amassing great wealth and in exercising singular influence among the people. Though a private citizen, he surpassed almost all the princes of Europe in his magnificent patronage of literature and fine arts. He established academies, collected Greek, Latin, and Oriental manuscripts, and endowed numerous religious houses. By his prudent conduct and thoughtful benevolence, he acquired the title of "Father" of his country. It was this man's grandson, Lorenzo de Medici, who was at the head of affairs when Savonarola went to Florence. He, too, distinguished himself above all his predecessors by his encouragement of literature and art, and was given the title of the "Magnificent." Lorenzo was the author of several poetical works. He added immensely to the manuscripts in the library, and took advantage of the newly discovered art of printing. On the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, many learned Greeks took refuge in Italy, and an academy was established in Florence for cultivating the Greek language. A thorough Florentine, Lorenzo sympathised with the common people, enjoyed their society, their merry-making, and their lewdness. Wealth and position had opened to his capacious mind every source of culture, and, surrounded by cultured and clever men, his polish became resplendent. It was this man, with sympathies so extensive and abilities so unique, that set himself the task of bending the civic life of Florence to his will, by sapping the morality of the young.

The Florentine youth were accustomed to meet on the square, and there, in the cool of the evening, to dance and sing to the music of the lute. These diversions Lorenzo developed and corrupted. He composed carols and songs which he seasoned with incentives to vice and obscenity. If there was a festival, it was always Lorenzo that organised and paid for it. He was a bankrupt, and paid for all this gaiety with the funds of the State, but the State, ignorant of this fact, lauded his generosity. He was always among the citizens in their hours of revelry, and planned their wildest carnivals. If they were enervated and demoralised, it was this that helped them to forget that they were slaves.

There was in Florence at least one man who shuddered at the immorality of Lorenzo, and was maddened at his tyranny. That man was Savonarola, the Prior and preacher of St. Mark's. Dante looked as if he had seen Hell, Savonarola felt as if he had been in Hell already. In August, 1490, he began to preach in St. Mark's; next year he preached in the Cathedral. The priors of St. Mark's were accustomed to pay homage to Lorenzo, and on certain occasions went to the palace. This observance Savonarola neglected. "Who elected me to be Prior?" he asked of the protesting brethern, and when they answered that it was God, he added reverently, "I will thank my Lord God and not mortal man. Let us, therefore, go into the chapel and return thanks to him." "See now," said Lorenzo, when he heard of this, "here is a stranger come into my house who will not deign to visit me." The stranger was not afraid to raise his voice like a trumpet against the corruption of Florence. The terrible pictures he drew of the moral evils under which Italy was sinking so aroused Florence that Lorenzo was considerably alarmed. Five of the leading men paid a visit to Savonarola, and hinted that his sermons were unpopular. "I am fully aware," he said, "that Lorenzo sent you. Return to him and tell him to repent,

for the Lord will call him to judgment." "Take care," they said, "that your bold words do not bring you into exile." "Though I am a stranger," he replied, "and Lorenzo the first citizen in Florence, it is I who will remain and he who shall leave the city."

Lorenzo changed his policy towards Savonarola. He went frequently to hear him. He often walked alone in the convent garden, as if anxious to have the company of the friar. But the friar used to say to the monks who wished him to join Lorenzo, "Let him take his walk in peace." Rich gifts were put into the alms box. Savonarola spoke of a piece that is thrown to a dog on the approach of a robber to silence him, and gave the money to the poor. "I know no honest Prior but him," was the remark of Lorenzo when he heard this, and he disturbed him no more.

In his beautiful villa of Carregi, Lorenzo lay ill and miserable. The doctors had exhausted all the resources of their skill but in vain. A few faithful and devoted friends cheered his last hours. Amongst these was the scholarly and refined Pico della Mirandola. "I should have died unhappy," said Lorenzo to him, "if I had not been first cheered by the sight of thy face." But die happy he could not after all. Fearful forebodings of the future troubled him. All his sins rose before him in increasing magnitude. The last offices of religion were powerless to conquer his terrors, for, having lost all faith in mankind, he could not believe in the sincerity of his confessors. Suddenly, however, he remembered Savonarola's stern face. Here was a man who could not be moved by his threats or his blandishments. Here was the man of whom he already said, "I know no honest Prior but him." A messenger was sent to bring Savonarola to Carregi. The friar was astonished by the strange and unexpected summons, and he almost refused to believe it, but, being assured of the dying man's desire to confess to him, he set forth without delay. As he stood

beside his bed, Lorenzo told him what preyed upon his mind. His soldiers had sacked Volterra and massacred its inhabitants, in spite of the promise given them that they would be protected. He had robbed the Monte della Fanciulle, had taken the dowries of the fatherless girls to their moral ruin, and had been guilty of the bloody reprisals following the conspiracy under Paggi. During this confession, he was terribly agitated. "There are three things required of you," said Savonarola; "first it is necessary that you should have a full and lively faith in the mercy of God." "That I have most fully," answered Lorenzo. "Secondly, it is necessary that you should restore that which you unjustly took away." Lorenzo hesitated, but, after a pause, a movement of his head seemed to give assent to this. "Lastly," said the friar, standing upright beside him, "you must restore liberty to the people of Florence." There was a long pause, and the silence remained unbroken. The dying man, collecting all his remaining strength, angrily turned his back on him without uttering a word. Without granting him absolution, and without having received any actual confession, Savonarola left the room. Lorenzo remained torn by remorse, and soon after, on April 8th, 1492, breathed his last.

Piero Medici, the son of Lorenzo, who succeeded him, was in all respects the very opposite of his father. He cared only for sensual pleasures and athletic sports. His uncouthness offended his people, and he so disgusted all the Italian princes that Florence speedily lost the proud pre-eminence Lorenzo had gained for her. Even the most pressing affairs of State were entirely neglected by him. Being forsaken by men of good repute, he was obliged to lean more and more upon untried and incapable persons.

Meanwhile the multitude assembled in increasing numbers round the pulpit of Savonarola, who was now considered

the preacher of the party opposed to the Medici. Piero became alarmed, and contrived to get him removed to Bologna. There the wife of the tyrant Bentivoglio attended his ministrations. Arriving late with a train of ladies, cavaliers, and pages, she daily disturbed the sermon. For the first day or two, Savonarola paused in his discourse, thinking that would cure her. This plan failed. Then he made some remarks upon the sin of disturbing the devotions of the faithful. This only made the lady of the city worse. At last, one morning, the preacher, being interrupted in the heat of the discourse, could no longer forbear, and exclaimed, "Behold here cometh the devil to disturb God's word." So enraged was Dame Bentivoglio at this that she directed two of her grooms to strike him dead in the pulpit. They feared to obey. Two other men were dispatched by her to kill the friar in his cell, but they were so overawed by his presence and courage that they became powerless. So fearless was he that, although he knew his life was in danger, he announced publicly when he proposed to leave Bologna. "This evening," he said, "I set forth on my journey to Florence, with my little staff and a wooden flask, and I shall rest at Pianoro; if any man have aught to say to me let him come to me before I leave. But I tell ye that my death is not to take place at Bologna."

Savonarola was welcomed back to St. Mark's. He was recalled by the special request and influence of the monks who adored him. His sincerity and self-denying life won their admiration. His individuality and his preaching told to a remarkable degree upon all Italy. Seldom in the history of the world has any preacher exercised the influence of Savonarola. His sermons in the Duomo or Cathedral had the most extraordinary effect upon the Florentine people. Nearly every one who has studied the history and times of this great reformer, writers of every age, of divers beliefs

and various nationalities, consider that he held the secret of the fate of Italy. No Pope has ever had granted to him the power of the keys in as real a sense as Savonarola had.

Patriotism was unknown in Italy. Men lived for self and city, and century after century had seen diminish the number who cared even to defend their native land. In the thirteenth century, one million eight hundred thousand persons enjoyed the right of citizenship. In the fourteenth century, the number had diminished to about a hundred and eighty thousand. By the end of the fifteenth century, the period under review, it was scarcely eighteen thousand, perhaps a little more than sixteen thousand, and this very small number of citizens were tools in the hands of the Medici and such like, who would risk their lives to support this condition of affairs.

Savonarola was inspired with the desire to change the spirit of his country, to reform its Church, its people, and its Pope, to destroy evil customs and the tyrants who promoted them. His influence was vastly increased in Florence by the fact that Lorenzo wished to confess to him, and that he had so fearlessly set his duty before the dying tyrant. Savonarola's prophecies regarding the death of Lorenzo and of Pope Innocent VIII., which were fulfilled, overawed the public mind; but, above all, his burning eloquence, his insight, the magnetic power of his personality, his earnestness and veracity, and his absorbing anxiety to bring men to God, held his audience spell-bound, and aroused within them something deeper than curiosity.

The convent life of this remarkable man, simple and guileless, was in keeping with his public life. "After dinner," says his biographer, Burlamecchi, "the master and the monks took a moment's repose, then the monks gathered cheerfully round their father, who explained to them some passage of the divine word; then they took a short walk and reclined for some time in the shade, while the father

brought before them as a subject of meditation some passage from the sacred book. Then he made them sing a hymn in honour of our Lord. Sometimes he would invite them to dance and accompany them with his voice. He was, indeed, a father in the midst of a loving and trustful family."

The miserable jealousies between the various States in Italy strangled all true patriotism. Almost everyone cared more for his own city than for all the rest of Italy. The league that once united them against a common foe had become practically useless. Ludovico Sforza, the Regent, was determined to ruin his nephew, the ruler of Milan, but his young wife, daughter of the King of Naples, stoutly opposed his designs, and appealed to her father for protection. Then Ludovico invited Charles VIII. of France to invade Italy and appropriate Naples. The year before, Savonarola preached judgment upon Italy by a foreign prince who would cross the Alps with a foreign army.

For a long time, Savonarola had been frequently preaching sermons on Noah's Ark. Every plank in the Ark represented some virtue. The excitement increased as the sermons went on. Persons travelled all night and watched without the gates of the city until the morning to be in time for the preaching. Thousands waited for hours in the cathedral. At last the Ark was finished and the people waited to hear their doom. With a voice like thunder, the preacher cried to the vast multitude, "Behold I will bring the waters over the earth," and on that day, the 21st of September, the people knew too well the meaning of the words; for the French, with their formidable army, had entered Italy, and were even now descending the Alps. The French invader was at first received with songs and cheers, but it soon became apparent that he came for his own advantage, and not to help Italy to regain the freedom she had lost.

The Italian forces were in the worst possible condition. The French army was the best in Europe. For the first time the Italians saw cannon which shot forth iron balls instead of the stones to which they were accustomed. There was a revolution in Florence. Piero de Medici was driven out of the city, and Savonarola practically reigned in his stead. Every one looked, in this hour of danger, to the prophet who had forewarned them of what had now come to pass. The task of negotiating with the advancing invader devolved on him, as well as that of maintaining order amongst the excited inhabitants of the city. The raging mob was stilled; the dull, licentious King of France was awestruck at the intensely positive man who spoke to him as a messenger from Heaven. He promised all that Savonarola demanded. The influence of the prior was now paramount. The French, having stayed some time in Florence, and the French King having accepted the terms of the republic, departed, leaving the new government to manage its own affairs. New laws were enacted, but Savonarola maintained that reform ought to begin with things spiritual, for all that is temporal ought to be subservient to morals and religion, on which it depends. The greatest political writers of Italy, during the succeeding generations, looked back to the "constitutions" of Savonarola as the best ever known in Italy up to their day. Piero, the old ruler, made several futile attempts to return. The adherents of the Medici were granted pardon and remained in Florence, but eventually succeeded in working its ruin. Several factions were formed. One of these, called the Arrabbiate, or The Rabid, was bitterly opposed to Savonarola. His own followers were called Piagononi, or weepers. The other two parties were the Greys (Biji), and the Whites (Blanchi), the one favouring the old house of the Medici, the other sympathising with the new reformer.

Savonarola paid little heed to the storm that was

gathering, but bent his energies toward moulding Florence to a better type, politically and morally. Like all practical reformers, he devoted himself to the young. It was during the Carnival that the children commenced a career of vice. The boys went about armed with little daggers, formed bands, and stopped all the girls they met, demanding blackmail before permitting them to pass. The processions were followed by dances in the open air. At the end of the week, a bonfire was lit within sight of the old palace, and around this they danced in maddest merriment. Then followed supper and a free fight with stones, causing the death of many. The picture had its darker side, and has been called by some a "Saturnalia of licence."

Savonarola succeeded not only in stopping this, but also in turning the carnival into a religious festivity. He had hymns composed and sung to popular airs. Palm Sunday in the year 1496 was memorable for a great procession of eight thousand children through the streets of Florence, each child holding in one hand a red cross and in the other an olive branch. The rear of the procession was formed by young girls dressed in white, wearing garlands, and followed by their mothers. This procession was to inaugurate the new Monte di Pieta, an institution in which the reformer took a keen interest. The Florentine usurers took $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with compound interest. The aim of the new movement was to abolish this. Much money was collected and handed over to the managers of the institution. The enemies of the reform—the Arrabbiate—tried to induce the children to return to their old pastime of the carnival, but another popular fête was inaugurated. The children went about from house to house in bands, begging the inmates to give them what they called "vanities," by which was meant everything that tended to corrupt and dissipate the mind—bad books, bad pictures, bad songs, gay dresses, cards, and dice. In the great square the vanities were heaped in the

form of a pyramid 60 feet high and 240 feet at the base. On the summit was a monstrous image representing the carnival. A Florentine merchant offered 22,000 florins for the heap, but the offer was refused. The pile was set on fire. The bells rang, the trumpets resounded, the crowds shouted and danced around the fire. It was as if they laid down their heaviest burdens and had seen them consumed by the flames.

Although Savonarola had seemingly wrought a religious and moral revolution in the city, he had prepared the way for his own destruction. His prophetic enthusiasm saw the will of God in the political changes which were taking place about him. The policy he had supported had made for him bitter enemies, among whom was Pope Alexander VI. The Pope offered him a cardinal's hat, but he replied that he wanted no hat but one red, if need be, with the blood of martyrdom; and, as he would not be reduced to silence by the Pope's bribes, or commands, he was excommunicated.

The Franciscan Order was always envious of Savonarola, who was a Dominican. The old feeling of animosity between them never died out. One of the Franciscan monks challenged Savonarola to prove the truth of his teaching by passing through fire unhurt. Dominico accepted the challenge on his behalf, but the Franciscan said he would challenge Savonarola and none else, and so the matter ended for a time. The enemies of Savonarola, however, encouraged the trial by fire, for, they argued, if he entered the fire he was sure to be burned; if he refused, he would lose his credit. The Government for the time being were ready to help them. His enemies, too, succeeded in discrediting the prior in the eyes of many.

The day of the trial was fixed—9th April, 1498. The famous fire of the vanities did not gather such a vast crowd as assembled to witness the trial. A narrow platform was raised, lined with faggots of wood, sprinkled with oil and

resinous substances. The Franciscan monks never intended to go through the trial, but Dominico, Savonarola's friend, was prepared to do so. The patience of the crowd was worked upon. The object of Savonarola's enemies was to get the blame laid upon him for failing to carry out the ordeal, and in this they succeeded. Dominico was divested of his cloak and cross lest there might be some incantation in them—so much for the superstition of the people. In addition, he was asked to deliver up the sacraments of the Host. This he refused to do. The populace could endure no longer. They waited the whole day, but in vain. A thunderstorm broke out. One man began the riot. In a moment there was a tumult. An attempt was made on Savonarola's life, but he was protected by the guard. Savonarola returned to his cell with a sad heart. His persecutors availed themselves of the tumult. St. Mark was violently entered. The prior and his leading followers, Dominico and Silvestre, were imprisoned and examined under torture. Rome vied with Florence in the desire to be the executioner of this enemy of social and ecclesiastical abuses. The Papal commissioners conducted the final examination, but the punishment was on the scene of the offence. Save for his claim to inspiration in connection with prophecy, Savonarola was manifestly guiltless of heterodoxy. To give colour to this groundless charge, however, the acts of the process were falsified. A man who was appointed to be one of the seventeen commissioners spoke of a document other than those on which the Prior was tried, and one which had been written by himself. In it was the true declaration of his doctrine, but it had been torn into a hundred pieces. This man had left his place among the judges, saying, "He would have no share in the homicide, nor would he call it by any other name." Savonarola's hands were bound with strong chains behind his back. He was hoisted by a rope to a great height, and

then let down suddenly so that his muscles were lacerated and torn, and live coals burned the flesh and nerves of his feet. He was from his childhood most sensitive to pain, and now inevitably he became quite delirious under such a terrible ordeal. In one of his paroxysms of pain, he cried, "O Lord, take, O take away my life." But when the rope was loosened, he knelt down and prayed for the men who tortured him.

It was under circumstances like these, and surrounded by his enemies, that Savonarola's evidence on which he was condemned was taken. No torture could make him deny his allegiance to God or the spirit which had influenced him. After all, the government or signory was dissatisfied with the result, but a Florentine notary undertook to revise the report. He changed the words and made interpolations to such an extent that the meaning of the documents was quite changed. It was these changes and interpolations that made the confession of little value as evidence, although Savonarola's signature was affixed to it.

Three times Savonarola was tried by torture of the most cruel character, but the trials utterly failed to prove him guilty, and on his third trial his innocence was plainer than ever. His death, however, was a foregone conclusion, and, notwithstanding the failure to prove him guilty, the fatal sentence was passed on the 22nd May, 1498. Two of his followers were condemned to die with him. The one, Silvestre, nervous and hysterical, yielded so far to the influence of torture and the fear of death as for a moment to deny the honesty of his master, but the other, Dominico, proved a noble witness to the uprightness and heavenly gifts of Savonarola. After all the torture he could be subjected to, his testimony was, "I never had the slightest suspicion that Savonarola either deceived or feigned. He was ever most upright. I always considered him a man of rare virtues. I have often said that, had I discovered the slightest

error or deception in him, I would have laid it open. This I would have done to himself, and I now would do to you, did I know there was any duplicity in him." In Dominico's farewell to his brother monks, written before his execution, he wished them to collect all the pamphlets of Savonarola; to have a copy in the library and one chained to the table of the refectory, that lay brothers might read it. Thus his last thoughts were given to the perpetuation of his master's doctrines. The world can boast of few examples of similar faith and constancy.

The last declaration of Savonarola, on the morning of his execution, in administering the sacrament to his fellow prisoners that were to meet death along with him, was, "O Lord, I acknowledge Thee to be the Perfect Invisible Trinity, the Three in One, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I acknowledge Thee to be the Eternal Word, and that Thou didst descend into Mary's womb and didst mount the cross to shed Thy blood for our sins. I pray Thee that by Thy blood I may gain remission of my sins and implore Thee to forgive them, and likewise to grant Thy pardon for every offence or hurt brought on this city and for every error I have unwittingly committed."

That same morning, at ten o'clock, 23rd May, 1498, on a platform before the palace in the great square, Savonarola stood along with his two followers, Dominico and Silvestre. The throng seemed scarcely greater than on the day of the ordeal by fire, but wore a very different aspect; a sad and solemn silence prevailed. At the opposite side of the platform an upright beam had been erected. The two arms that were extended near the top gave it a resemblance to a cross. The arms were shortened, but the resemblance was not destroyed. There were three halters to hang the prisoners and three chains to hold them till they were consumed by fire. As Savonarola's gown was taken off, he said, "Holy dress, how much I long to wear thee! Thou was granted

to me by the grace of God, and to this day I kept thee spotless. I do not now leave thee. Thou art taken from me."

The bishop of Vasona, an old pupil, who degraded him, lost his self-possession, and with an unsteady voice said, "I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant;" but Savonarola, in no wise disturbed, corrected him saying, "Militant, not triumphant, that is not yours to do." "In what frame do you endure this martyrdom?" a priest asked him as he passed. "The Lord has endured as much for me," he answered. These were the last words he uttered. Then the flames sprang up. His ashes were flung into the Arno. But only a hundred years ago, the people scattered flowers upon the spot where his spirit returned unto God Who gave it.

CHAPTER XX.

Luther and the Disruption of 1521.

On the left bank of the Rhine, twenty-five miles south of Mainz, with which it communicates with railway, is situated one of the decayed towns of the German Empire. It was destroyed in the early centuries by the Vandals and Huns, and rebuilt by the Franks about the year 475 A.D. Its population in the thirteenth century was sixty thousand, and in the twentieth is about twenty thousand. The people are chiefly engaged in factories of sugar, lead, and tobacco. There are several tanneries, and a good trade is done in corn, cattle, and wine. That town is Worms, one of the most famous in ecclesiastical history.

On Wednesday, the 17th of April, 1521, Worms was the centre of great attraction and the scene of unusual activity. The streets were overcrowded; the entrance to the Town Hall was blocked by a dense mass of people. The spacious hall was more than packed by not less than five thousand persons—Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and other nationalities. "Never," says D'Aubigné, "was there a more imposing audience than that assembled in the hall that day. There were the Emperor Charles, whose sovereignty extended over a great part of the old and new worlds, his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, six electors of the Empire, many of whose descendants now wear the kingly crown, twenty-four dukes, the majority of whom were independent sovereigns over countries less extensive, and among whom were some whose names afterwards became formidable to the Reformation; the Duke of Alva and his two sons, eight

margraves, thirty archbishops, bishops, and abbots, seven ambassadors including those from the Kings of France and England; the deputies of ten free cities, a great number of princes, counts, and sovereign barons, and the Papal nuncio, in all five hundred and four persons of great distinction." Before this august assembly stands a solitary man, with whose writings and teachings both Church and State represented in that hall are chiefly concerned to deal. A pen portrait thus describes him:—"A man of middle stature, and so emaciated by hard study that one might almost count his bones; he is in the vigour of life, and his voice is clear and sonorous; his learning and his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures are beyond compare; he has the whole Word of God at command. In addition to this, he has a great store of arguments and ideas. His address is pleasing and replete with good humour. He displays firmness, and is never discomposed by the menaces of his adversaries, be they what they may." That man was Martin Luther. Who was he, and why did he stand before this assembly, known in Church history as the "Diet of Worms"?

Martin Luther was born on November 10th, 1483, at Eisleben in Prussian Saxony. Six months later, his parents settled at Mansfeld, the capital of a rich mining district in the Harz mountains. They were very poor, but honest, industrious, and pious people of the lower and uncultured ranks. Luther was never ashamed of his humble and rustic origin. "I am a peasant's son," he said with pride to Melanchthon. "My father, grandfather, and all my ancestors were thorough peasants." His mother had to carry on her back the wood from the forest, and father and mother, as he said, "worked their flesh off their bones" to bring up seven children, of whom he was the eldest. His father, Hans Luther, sent Martin to a private school held in the house of one George Emilius. The little fellow was often carried over the rough road to the school on his father's

back. The honesty, integrity, and industry of the father gained for him later the position of councillor in Mansfeld. The desire of his heart was to make a scholar of his boy, and though books in those days were rare and expensive, not a few found their way to the house of Luther's father. At the same time, as far as his humble circumstances permitted, he welcomed to his house the men of education whose acquaintance he happened to make. This had its beneficial influence in inspiring the youthful scholar with a strong desire for learning. At the age of fourteen, Martin acquired all the learning that George Emilius was qualified to give him. His father's improved position, however, enabled him to send Martin to a better school in the distant town of Magdeburg, and afterwards to Eisenach. At home and in school the discipline was specially severe. His mother once chastised him till the blood came for stealing a paltry nut; and his father at another time flogged him so severely that he fled away, and bore him a temporary grudge. This treatment Luther afterwards regarded as a serious error in judgment on the part of his parents, and it disposed him to be lenient with children. In school the rod took the place of kindly admonition, and on one occasion he was punished no less than fifteen times in a morning. This was more from the barbarous custom of the age than from either bad behaviour or poor scholarship. At times the young scholar was much pinched from want of means of support. His father, owing to adverse circumstances, could not help him. He was obliged to beg his food by singing on the streets, and were it not, in the providence of God, for Frau Ursula Cotta, who immortalised herself by her benevolent interest in the distinguished scholar, the devout worshipper and the beautiful singer, Luther would have been obliged to abandon his studies, if not altogether, at least for a considerable time. The house of this lady and her husband became the temporary home of young Luther, and their kindly interest

developed the social side of his nature. But the hardships of his youth, and the want of fine breeding left their mark on his writings and actions. They limited his influence among the higher and cultivated classes—making him thus a contrast to Erasmus—but increased his power over the middle and lower classes. He was a man of the people and for the people. His generous patroness died in 1511, but he kept up an acquaintance with her sons, and later hospitably entertained one of them who studied at Wittenberg.

At the age of eighteen, he entered as student of law at the University of Erfurt, one of the best in Germany. His strength of intellect enabled him to outstrip all his fellow students, and his progress was particularly rapid in ancient languages, rhetoric, and poetry. He soon became Bachelor and Master of Arts. Luther was a great reader, and spent every spare moment he had in the library of the University. One day after he had been two years at the University—he was then twenty—he was examining some of the books when one attracted his attention. That volume was the Bible, a rare book, and at that time practically unknown. Hitherto he had thought that the fragments read in churches formed the whole Bible, but here was a large volume with many books, chapters, and pages. This discovery was the beginning of a new era in Luther's life. Often making his way to the library, he read and re-read it, and in his astonishment and joy would return and read it again. At the sudden assassination of Alexis, a dear friend of his, he was greatly troubled, and he found himself pondering the question—"What would become of me were I called away thus suddenly?" On his return to Erfurt at this time, after visiting his parents at Mansfeld, he was overtaken by a most violent thunderstorm. The lightning flashed, the bolt fell at his feet, the fear of death seized hold of him, and he vowed that if the Lord delivered him, he would

forever forsake the world and devote himself to His service. After returning to Erfurt, he invited his college friends to supper. Music once more enlivened their meeting. It was Luther's farewell to the world. In spite of all the remonstrances of his friends, his resolutions remained unaltered, and that very night, leaving behind him all his possessions, taking with him only Virgil and Plautus (for as yet he had no Bible), he entered the nearest Augustinian monastery. There was no end to the drudgery of this monastery. The most menial work he was ordered to do, and, after the slavery of the whole day, he was sent to beg in the streets for food for the monks. All this, however, he did without a grudge. He was a monk by choice, and if ever there was a serious, conscientious monk, it was Martin Luther. At every available opportunity Luther carefully studied the monastery Bible, which was chained to the altar in the chapel. His other studies were done during midnight hours.

The Vicar General for Germany was John von Staupitz, a good man and evangelical. He took a deep interest in the thoughtful young student, understanding his soul struggles against sin, having himself passed through a similar experience. He recommended to Luther the study of Augustine and of the Bible, a copy of which he presented to him. John von Staupitz belonged to the school of Tauler and Thomas à Kempis. He cared more for the inner spiritual life than for the outward forms, and trusted to Christ's merits rather than to his own. The love of God and the imitation of Christ were the ruling ideas of his theology and piety. Staupitz, indeed, was Luther's spiritual father, and he it was who first caused the light of the Gospel to shine into his heart. When in spite of his fasting and prayer, his inward struggles only grew stronger, an old monk proclaimed to him the comforting declaration of the creed—"I believe in the forgiveness of sin." This filled

his soul with peace. From the Augustinian convent of Erfurt, Staupitz promoted him to the University of Wittenberg. Here he first lectured on the "Dialectus" and "Physics" of Aristotle, but when he passed the three grades of Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor of Divinity, he became Professor of Theology, and devoted himself exclusively to that science. It was at this time that he took a journey to Rome in the interest of his Order. On his first view of the holy city, he sank upon his knees and with his hands raised to heaven, cried out, "I greet thee, holy Rome." But he soon withdrew, utterly disgusted with the godless frivolity and immorality which he witnessed among the clergy on every side, and dissatisfied with the externalism of the penitential exercises which he had undertaken. During the whole of the journey to Rome, the Scriptures sounded in his ear, "The just shall live by his faith," and as he was climbing on his knees the steps known as Pilate's Staircase at St. John Lateran, earning as he thought a year's indulgence at every step, he was startled again by the same words, as if a voice of thunder had uttered them. "What folly," he said to himself, "to seek indulgence from the Church when God is willing to acquit me of all my sins if I believe in His Son!"

Luther's stay in Rome did not extend over two weeks. It was in 1511, six years before the beginning of the Reformation in Germany. These six years were spent in the arduous labours of preacher, professor, and confessor at Wittenberg. In 1517, five years after Luther's return from Rome, the luxurious Pope Leo X. proclaimed a General Indulgence, avowedly for the building of St. Peter's, though really to fill his own empty coffers. The history of indulgences began with the eight century. It was found difficult to enforce the rules of penance upon the Teutonic races, accustomed as they were to the payment of money as a compensation for even the gravest of crimes. Certain

exceptional cases were, therefore, recognised, in which the prescribed penance could be commuted to a money fine. This was importing into the Church discipline the common system of fines for offences against the civil law. This seemed harmless in itself, and was afterwards often resorted to in the Reformed Church. But simple and harmless though it at first appeared, it gradually developed into the baneful system of indulgences. According to the doctrine of indulgence, God alone can forgive the external punishment of sin, but the sinner has to bear the temporal punishment, either in this life or in purgatory. These punishments are under the control of the Church, and especially of the Pope. There are also works of supererogation performed by the Church and by the saints, and these constitute a rich treasury from which the Pope, as the treasurer, can dispense indulgences and forgiveness for money. These indulgences can be given to departed souls in purgatory on payment of money by friends. After the Crusades, they became a regular traffic and a source of great wealth to the Church.

St. Peter's Church, built over the bones of the Galilean fisherman, by the proceeds of the sale of indulgences, is at once the glory and the shame of Papal Rome. The magnificent structure was begun in 1506 and completed in 1626—a hundred and twenty years being taken in the process. It cost about £10,350,000, and is kept up at an annual expense of £6,750. Leo divided Germany into three districts, one of which was under the charge of Albrecht, archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg. He was to have half the proceeds of the sale, but he was too deeply in debt to the rich banking house of Fugger in Augsburg, from which he had borrowed to pay for the papal pallium. The most shameless trafficker in indulgences employed by him was the Leipzig Dominican prior, John Tetzel. This man was some time before sentenced to be drowned for adultery, but had his

sentence commuted to imprisonment for life. He was taken out of prison to do this piece of work for the archbishop. He sold indulgences or pardons in the form of stamped tickets, at the rate of a few ducats for the graver sins. He had the voice of a town crier, and the eloquence of a mountebank. As he travelled through Germany, he entered each town with great pomp. In the midst of his procession, there was a great red cross which he carried himself, upon which hung a silken banner bearing the Papal arms. When he approached a town, it was announced that the grace of God and the holy father were at the gates. To persuade the people to buy his spiritual wares, he told them that as soon as the money clinked in the bottom of the chest where the money was kept, the souls of their deceased friends forthwith went up to heaven. He used to say, "I would not change my privileges for those of St. Peter in heaven, for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the Apostle did by his sermons." One man who had no faith in the sale, purchased pardon for an attack to be made upon a stranger. He received pardon, temporal and spiritual. He then waylaid Tetzel and nearly killed him. He was taken up for assualt, but presented his ticket of pardon, to the chagrin of Tetzel and the ridicule of his traffic. Tetzel attracted crowds in the vicinity of Wittenberg. Luther discovered in the confessional the distracting influence of such procedure, and on October 31st, 1517, he nailed on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg his famous Ninety-five Theses, explaining the meaning of indulgences. The Theses contained the real germ of the Reformation movement. With considerable rapidity, copies were spread over all Germany. Luther accompanied them with a sermon on Indulgence and Grace. The printing press sent copies of the Theses and sermon by tens of thousands broadcast over the Empire. Great excitement prevailed. The lifelong antagonists of monkish superstitions, Reuchlin and Erasmus

rejoiced at the boldness of Luther. "No one," says Luther, "would bell the cat for the heresy: masters of the preaching order (the Dominicans) had driven all the world to terror by their fires." The Emperor Maximilian, whose political hopes had often been thwarted by the Pope, said to the Elector, "Let the Wittenberg monk be taken good care of: we may some day want him."

About this time, a controversy arose between Luther and the defender of indulgences. He began to see that human authority was against him, and that it was necessary for him to plant himself more distinctly on the Scriptures. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, favoured Luther. This he could do to some purpose because of his political importance. His influence became all the greater on the death of Maximilian. Leo at first praised Luther as a real genius, then declared that he wrote his Theses when he was drunk, and that he would repent when sober. By and by, he found it necessary to make an attempt to reduce Luther to submission. He, therefore, summoned him to appear in person in Rome. But on the representation of the University, and especially of the Elector Frederick, his case was to be considered at a Diet of Augsburg. Cardinal Cajetan, the Pope's legate, was charged to take up the consideration of it. Luther was granted a safe conduct to Augsburg. The cardinal demanded unconditional recantation. Luther made his appeal to the Bible, and refused to recant. Cajetan haughtily dismissed "the beast with the deep eyes, and wonderful speculations in his head." Before leaving Augsburg, Luther left an appeal from the cardinal to the Pope, and "from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope to be better informed." Leo issued a Bull re-affirming the doctrine of indulgences. Luther appealed from the Pope to a General Council. Another Papal nuncio was sent to influence Luther through the Elector Frederick, who was to be gained over by the consecrated golden rose. But

Frederick the Wise was not so easily caught. This second Papal nuncio came better speed with Luther than did his predecessor. Softness and flattery were more successful with the Reformer than one would have expected. He promised to abstain from all further polemics on condition that his opponents also should be silent, but silent they would not be. Luther was forced by Dr. John Eck, one of his theological opponents, into further disputations at Leipzig. He was on this occasion accompanied by the new Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, Philip Melanchthon, a young man of twenty-two, already distinguished for his attainments.

Luther carried in his hand to the platform a nosegay of flowers. He was then in his thirty-sixth year, full of life and possessing a clear and melodious voice. The controversy proved to be a turning point in his career. He was drawn into a discussion of the primacy of the Pope, which he declared to be of human appointment. He also declared that among the articles for which John Huss was condemned at Constance were some which were thoroughly Christian. This enraged to a high degree Duke George of Saxony, who ever after was his bitterest enemy. From the rulers of the Church Luther turned for reform to the people, to whom he made a remarkable appeal in his address to the Christian nobles of the German nation. This was followed by a treatise on the Babylonian captivity of the Church, in which he attacked transubstantiation as well as all the ordinances that violated Christian liberty. All this resulted in his excommunication by a Papal Bull, and a command to the Elector Frederick to deliver him up. This the Elector refused to do. The promulgation of the Bull was entrusted to Dr. John Eck, but, in Northern Germany, the seat of the conflict, it met with determined resistance and was defeated. It was sent to the Wittenberg University. On the 10th day of December, 1520, at nine o'clock in the morning, and in the presence of a large number of professors

and students, Luther committed to the flames the Bull of excommunication and several other Papal documents, with the words, "As thou (the Pope) has vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may the eternal fire vex thee."

The burning of the Pope's Bull was one of the boldest actions of Luther. It was preceded and followed by the most heroic acts of faith in putting down an old church and building up a new one. He thus effected an utter renunciation of the Pope and his Church, cutting away every possibility of return.

While thus Germany was on the eve of a great religious movement, the political condition of the country seemed to portend not reform but revolution. The quarrels of the princes with the bishops as well as with the knights became very frequent. The cities complained of the tyranny of the government and of the depredations of lawless nobles. They murmured at the burdensome taxes and the insecurity of the highways. The peasants, goaded almost to despair by the hardships of their condition, were ready to raise the standard of revolt.

On the death of Maximilian, there were three candidates for the Imperial Crown—Charles I. of Spain, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. It was offered to the Elector Frederick in virtue of the power invested in the seven leading princes, three archbishops, and four nobles of Germany by the Golden Bull of Charles II. in 1356. He refused the offer, but favoured the appointment of Charles. The young King of Spain was elected as Charles V. on June 28th, 1519. He was a grandson of Maximilian, and became the most powerful monarch since the days of Charles the Great. He was the heir of four royal lines which had become united by a series of matrimonial alliances. The new Emperor was then only twenty-one years of age, and showed no signs of greatness, but he soon developed a rare genius for political and military government. He was a

true Roman Catholic, fully approved of the Pope's Bull against Luther, and ordered it to be executed in the Netherlands. But he owed his crown to the Elector, Luther's protector, and had enough gratitude in him to remember this. He would, therefore, favour Luther on this ground only, except when his doing so militated against his schemes of war. The King of France stood between him and the possession of Milan. If the Pope would help him against France, he would sacrifice Luther and the Reformation without a qualm. But should the Pope refuse and join himself to France, then the Emperor would protect the monk and make him an opposing power against the Pope. Luther was regarded by Charles as an opportune card to be played with in the game of war. The Pope promised his help, with the result that an Imperial Diet was summoned to meet at Worms on January 6th, 1521. One of the causes, and the most important, for its convocation was stated to be "to concert proper measures for checking those new and dangerous opinions which so profoundly agitated Germany and threatened to overthrow the religion of their ancestors." Luther was summoned to appear before this Diet at Worms to defend himself. He did not leave Wittenberg till April 2nd. His journey, which occupied fourteen days, was like a triumphal march. On April 16th, he entered Worms amid a great concourse of people. He was called to appear the following day before the Great Assembly, a brief account of which was given at the opening of this chapter. The young Emperor, of a pale, grave, and melancholy countenance, presided over the great Council. He scanned most minutely Luther in his plain monkish garb, upon whom all eyes were turned. When asked if he wrote the twenty books that lay before him on the table and whose titles were read aloud, he answered in the affirmative. He was then asked whether he retracted their teaching, and at his own request was granted time to consider.

The opinion of the Council was divided about him. Many thought he would submit, others maintained that he would stand the ordeal well. That night was spent by Luther in great agony. It was not death—not a thousand deaths—that he dreaded, but the fear that he would make shipwreck of his great work. The power which had hitherto sustained him seemed to have been withdrawn. A horror of great darkness filled his soul, and he cried to God, "Oh God, my Lord, hearest thou me not? My God, art thou dead? No, thou canst not die; thou hidest thyself only. Thou hast chosen me for this work, I know it well. Then, Oh my God, stand by my side for Jesus' sake." After an interval, he broke out again. "Lord, where stayest thou? Come, come. I am ready to lay down my life for thy truth. I will never separate myself from thee. No, never, now nor through eternity; though my body be slain, cut in pieces, my soul is thine, yes, thy word is my assurance of it." Luther arose from his knees, and, in the calm which reigned in his soul, he felt that he had already received an answer to his prayer.

Next day he seemed to have recovered himself. He appeared before the great Assembly, fresh, courageous, and collected. He spoke for two hours, giving a clear account of his books and doctrines, and setting before the Council the great principles of the Reformation and the supremacy of conscience and the liberty of private judgment. He spoke first in Latin, then in German. As he resumed his seat, there was a pause. Then the spokesman declared that Luther had spoken disrespectfully, and that what was required was a plain answer—yes or no—without horns. The taunt roused Luther's blood, and his full brave self was in his reply: "I will give you an answer which has neither horns nor teeth. Popes have erred and Councils have erred. Prove to me out of Scripture that I am wrong, and I will submit; till then my conscience binds me." And looking round on

the Assembly which held his life in its hands, he said, "Here stand I; I cannot do otherwise. So help me, God. Amen." What a spectacle! The Empire and the Church on one hand, and a solitary monk on the other! But God was with the monk, and brought to naught the wisdom of those kings and prelates, and they lost the battle. The Chancellor rose and said: "If you do not retract, the Emperor and the States of the Empire will consider what course to adopt towards an obstinate heretic." No retractation was promised. Thus the storm was over, the scene ended—one of the grandest scenes in human history.

On returning to his rooms, Luther flung up his arms, crying, "I am through, I am through! If I had a thousand heads, they would be struck off one by one before I would retract." That night the Elector Frederick congratulated Luther on his firmness. Next morning he left Worms, accompanied by a band of armed gentlemen. The Emperor was urged to withdraw his safeguard, but, to his credit be it said, he replied, "Though truth and virtue find no place of rest in the world, they shall always find a refuge in the bosom of kings." Luther proceeded on his way homeward, visiting his native place. He went to see his grandmother, and the good old lady clasped in her arms her grandson who had been showing front to the Emperor Charles and Pope Leo X. He spent a happy time with his friends, and next day resumed his journey. While passing through a lonely part of a forest, a noise was heard, and five horsemen, masked and in complete armour, rushed upon the travellers. They pulled Luther from his seat, placed him on horseback, and in a moment disappeared into the dark forest with their prisoner. The owner and other occupants of the carriage drove off at a rapid pace, spreading along the journey the news of Luther's capture. Meantime Luther and his captors proceeded on their way, and at midnight they arrived at the foot of a mountain. The horses climbed

slowly to the summit, on which stood an old castle. The bolts were drawn, the gates were opened and closed behind them. Luther was conducted to a chamber where there lay a knight's dress and sword. None in that castle knew who he was, save that he was known by the name Chevalier George. The capture was a prudent act of the Elector Frederick, his friend, who had been deeply moved by Luther's firmness, and who was more than ever proud of having such a brave man under his protection. Meanwhile, the Edict of Worms was published. Luther was therein put under the ban of the Empire. No one might give him food or shelter, and to put him to death would be to do an act of service for the Government. While Luther was prisoner in the castle of Wartburg, like Paul in the prison of Rome, the cause of the Reformation flourished, and was espoused by multitudes of people and priests:—"The Church in Germany was disrupted; the victory was won; wavering hearts took courage and the evangelical revival spread like an epidemic. The Papacy, like an idol, was powerful only as long as it was feared. Luther had thrown his spear at it, and the enchantment was broken."

CHAPTER XXI.

Luther and the Reconstructed Church.

After the Diet of Worms, which formed specially the subject of last chapter, the Elector of Saxony sent Luther to the Castle of Wartburg to prevent him from being murdered or kidnapped. There he was known as Knight George, and there he spent ten months in solitude, but after a lordly fashion, and with abundant leisure to take a deliberate outlook on the condition of affairs in Church and State.

His friends were alarmed at his sudden disappearance, about which all manner of reports were rife. Some said he was captured by his enemies, others that he was imprisoned, and it was also rumoured that he had been assassinated. Mountebanks pictured to the crowds his body pierced through with daggers. His enemies were alarmed, and some of their leaders said, "We must discover the monk, else Germany will flow with the blood of vengeance." Germany was indeed already burning like a North American forest. The monasteries were broken up, the estates were appropriated by the nobles, and the monks sent wandering into the world. The bishops looked helplessly on while their ancient splendid dominions were broken to pieces and trodden under foot.

This terrible outlook was no sunshine to Luther. Satan came often to him, he tells us, and said, "See what you have done. Behold this ancient Church, the Mother of Saints, polluted and destroyed by brutal violence, and it is you who have done it." This gave Luther great pain, but

he resisted the temptation. The devil, he says, is very proud, and what he least likes is to be laughed at. Luther, however, laughed at the devil. One night he was disturbed by something rattling in the room. He immediately got up, lit a candle, and searched the apartment, but found nothing. The Evil One was there, he thought, indisputably. "Ah," he said at last, "it is you, is it?" He returned to bed, and went to sleep. He had not the least doubt but that he was alone with the devil. Think of his courage when he could deliberately sleep in such a presence.

In Luther's case, however, the devil was not tempting idle hands. During the ten months of his confinement, he was hard at work translating the New Testament from the Greek text into German, and the task he completed in that time. So hard did he work, that his health began to be impaired. In the old castle there is still pointed out on its ancient walls what tradition reports to be marks of Luther's inkstand dashed at the devil whom he imagined to be intruding upon his work. "Any apothecary's apprentice can tell us now," says Carlyle, "what we are to think of this apparition in a scientific sense, but the man's heart that dared rise defiant face to face against hell itself can give no higher proof of fearlessness. The thing that he will quail before exists not on the earth or under it."

Luther had a great enemy in Duke George, but of him he was not afraid. On being warned against riding into Leipzig, his answer was, "I would ride into Leipzig though it should rain Duke Georges for nine days running."

Luther was not long in Wartburg without finding ways and means of communicating with his friends at Wittenberg, and during his ten months of seclusion he was kept well informed of the state of matters existing there

Nicholas Storch, a weaver of Zwickau, an excitable man, gathered round him some followers. They maintained that they were all taught by God, and that they required neither

priest nor clergyman, that the Bible was useless, and that they were all inspired. They went about destroying church decorations, crosses, and altars. The Reformation was thus in danger of speedy destruction. Although an outlaw, and consequently running a great risk, Luther hastened to Wittenberg, travelling under the guise of an knight. He struggled against the fanaticism for eight days, and at length triumphed. This led to a reform in worship whereby the old Roman Catholic form was done away with, and a more spiritual worship begun.

At Jena, on his way to Wittenberg, Luther fell in with two students. "Could you inform us where Martin Luther is at present?" they asked him. He replied, "I know for certain that he is not at Wittenberg, but he will be there shortly." At the same time two merchants entered the apartment, one of them holding in his hand an unbound book. "What book is that?" asked the knight. "A commentary on some of the Gospels and Epistles by Dr. Luther," was the reply. "It is just published." "I shall procure a copy of it shortly," said the knight. Supper was by this time ready. During the meal Luther entertained the two students with striking conversation, thereafter paying the bill. When parting, he said to his friends, "When you reach Wittenberg, salute Dr. Schurf on my part." "Most willingly," replied the students, "but what name shall we give?" "Simply tell him," said Luther, "that he that is to come salutes you." The students discovered afterwards that their generous friend was none other than Martin Luther. When they met at Wittenberg, he greeted them with great cordiality. From this time they became his most loyal supporters.

The ban of the Empire hung over Luther, the Edict of Worms was still in force, yet he went on preaching, writing, and publishing in Wittenberg, and no one considered him an outlaw. The Emperor Charles had gone back

to Spain, and the German princes felt that the Edict of Worms ought to be reversed. Accordingly, the Diet of Nürnberg in 1522-1524 formally suspended it, and left over the whole question of religion to the Diet of Spires in 1526. At this Diet, a memorable decree was issued to the effect that as regards the matter dealt with by the Edict of Worms, every State should live and rule and hold fast by the right, as it should answer for itself before God and the Emperor. This decree probably introduced to the Protestant world the cruel supremacy of the state or nation over the conscience of the individual, which proved so disastrous for ages to come.

In the interval between the Edict of Nürnberg and that of Spires, the Nobles' Revolt and the Peasants' War took place. The former, which consisted in the uprising of the knights against the tyrannising power of the great princes, was led by Francis von Sickingen, a very remarkable man, a great soldier, and a German patriot after a fashion. This revolt was soon put down, but it resulted in the breaking up of Germany into two sections—the Roman Catholic and the Protestant leagues. This divided Germany foretold the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

The Peasants' Revolt was much more serious in its immediate consequences than that of the Nobles. It was mainly due to the misery in which they lived. They were cottar farmers, paying rack rents for their holdings and working like serfs on the lands of their landlords. In addition to this, they were oppressed by game laws and other laws. They were not allowed to cut fuel in the woods; the old village commons had been taken from them. When the peasant died, the landlord claimed the best chattel, whether cow or bedstead, and took it from the widow and orphan. The Church imposed fresh burdens, and claimed tithes—the tenth portion of the crop and of the animals. These had to be paid after the landlord was satisfied. When

the Church had taken the tenth part of the corn, and the tenth lamb or pig, there was little left for the poor peasant and his family. No wonder that such oppression made them mad, and drove them to revolt.

At first Luther regarded the movement with favour, and considered the demands of the peasants reasonable—so reasonable were they indeed that most of them have since been satisfied. But when they began to force their demands by the sword, Luther threw his whole weight against the revolution, and when the dark cloud of war rose up all over Germany, he dipped his pen in blood and directed the most violent manifesto against the rapacious and murderous peasants. He charged them with doing the devil's work under pretence of the Gospel.

The number of victims of this dreadful war exceeded a hundred thousand. The surviving rebels were beheaded and mutilated. Over a thousand castles and convents lay in ashes, and hundreds of villages were burnt to the ground. "Never," says Luther after the end of the war, "has the aspect of Germany been more deplorable than now."

The Peasants' War was a complete failure, and the victory of the princes an inglorious revenge. The reaction made the condition of things worse than ever. The defeat of the peasants marked the end of the destructive tendencies of the Reformation and the beginning of the construction of a new Church on the ruins of the old.

The first Diet of Spires made a great concession to the Lutheran party. The second Diet, ten years after, tried to check the Reformation, and this led to a protest by those States which supported the movement. The noble Elector of Saxony, John the Constant, read the protest in the name of many princes and nobles and all the followers of the reformer. At Worms, Luther stood alone; at Spires he was one of a host; and the "No," so courageously uttered by the monk in 1521 was,

in 1529, taken up and uttered by princes, peoples, and nations. Eight years before, the Reformation was simply a doctrine, now it was an organisation, a Church. The small seed had grown into a mighty tree, which covered nations with its shadow. From the day on which John, the Elector of Saxony, read the famous protest, the reformers were called Protestants—hence the origin of the name.

So prospered the Reformer's cause in spite of Charles. Ever since the Diet of Worms, he had determined to crush Luther and his heresy, but whenever he unsheathed his sword, some new dispute arose between himself and the Pope, or else he had some difference with France or the Turks. Over these he gained the victory in succession, and being once more reconciled to the Pope, and having secured promise of help from other quarters to crush the Lutherans, he saw his way to proceed. For nine years he was absent in person from Germany. Then he crossed the Tyrol. Having all the world at his feet, he felt certain of being able to stamp out by his authority this baneful heresy. But Charles had yet to learn the strength of conscience and the still greater strength of the God of the conscience.

The Protestant princes of Germany, as we shall now call them, resolved to meet their king and present their protest. The Diet was fixed at Augsburg. The other princes with their armed retinues proceeded, accompanied so far by Luther. He remained at the Castle of Coburg, as it was deemed prudent that he should not appear at the diet, being under the ban of the Empire. Before the princes proceeded to Augsburg, Luther preached on the text, "Whosoever will be ashamed of me before men, of him shall I be ashamed before my father." On the banner of the various Protestant delegates were written in Latin the initials of the words, "The word of the Lord endureth for ever." At the Diet, the Emperor commanded that the Protestant preachers should be silent. The aged Landgrave of Hesse, stepping forward,

said in a resolute voice, "Rather than deny the word of God, let my head be cut off." At this the Emperor was greatly moved, and replied, "No heads off, dear Landgrave." The leaders, however, thought it advisable to obey the King, who ordered that the pulpits of Augsburg should be occupied by preachers who would interfere with no party doctrine. Those of the Protestants who went to hear those preachers were greatly amused, and reported "that the sermons were innocent of theology, but equally innocent of sense."

At the request of the Emperor, a statement of the Protestant doctrine was presented at the Diet of Augsburg. This was the famous Confession of Faith of the Lutheran Church, and is so to this day. It was drawn up by Melancthon and some of his learned friends, with the approval of Luther. It was a wonderful document, and such was its force that many by merely reading it were converted to Protestantism. It was rumoured, though without real foundation, that even the Emperor was so impressed by it as to veer towards Protestantism. So determined were the Lutherans to stand by their Confession, that Charles saw that either concessions must be made, or that the Edict of Worms must be forced by the sword. At the proceedings for concession, the leader had great cause for alarm. Melancthon was too yielding.

Meanwhile, Luther was shut up in the Castle of Coburg, spending his hours at one time translating *Æsop's Fables* into good German, at another translating the Prophets and the Psalms. He wrote Melancthon, "I understand that you have begun a marvellous work, to make Luther and the Pope agree. Now, mind, if you mean to shut up that glorious eagle, the Gospel, in a sack, as sure as Christ lives, Luther will come and deliver that eagle with might. . . . If you succeed in reconciling Luther and the Pope, then, after your example, I will bring together Christ and Belial." But Luther and the Pope could not agree on the Confession of

Augsburg, and the Emperor's plans were defeated. The Diet agreed to give till the next spring to the Protestants to reconsider their views and to submit to Rome. Before then, however, a most powerful league formed by the Protestants, together with troubles from other quarters, prevented Charles from attempting to exterminate the Lutherans. This league was the most powerful in Germany. So in 1532, after long and anxious negotiations, a peace was concluded between Charles and the Protestant princes. This peace permitted the adherents of the Augsburg Confession to hold their doctrines, and it also granted other privileges. Thus the Protestants triumphed, and what a wonderful triumph after a long and steady struggle of thirteen years.

Fifteen years before this treaty of peace, a solitary monk, bearing a scroll in one hand and a hammer in the other, was to be seen forcing his way through a crowd of pilgrims, and nailing his scroll with its ninety-nine theses to the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. That scene now repeated itself, but on a grander scale. Now a phalanx of princes and free citizens pressed through the throng of the Diet of Augsburg, and in the presence of the assembled princedom and hierarchies of Christendom, they nailed to the throne of Charles the old scroll, now enlarged in the Confession of Augsburg. The progress in the interval between those two eventful scenes was very great. Electoral Saxony was reformed, and its sovereign marched in the van of the Reformation princes. Hesse was evangelised, and its magnanimous Landgrave was in arms in the great battle of Protestantism. The Gospel was welcomed in thirteen free towns of Germany. Every day princes, counts, and free citizens pressed forward to enrol themselves on the side of Protestantism. Wider still did the light spread, breaking out on all sides. The skies of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary brightened anew: the Protestant standard was

raised on the shores of Zurich. Even in the Court of France there were men not ashamed to confess the Gospel. In England the spirit of the Lollards was revived. Luther's tracts and Tyndale's Testament entered Scotland. In 1528, the die is cast. Our beloved country was famed for the Reformation, for now Patrick Hamilton was burnt at the stake at St. Andrews, and his martyr's pyre became the funeral torch of the Papacy in our country. Wide was the sphere which fifteen short years had sufficed to fill with the light of the Protestant faith.

The translation of the Bible was one of Luther's greatest works. He studied the text carefully and prayerfully, and was scrupulously particular about the words. He moved among the people, and thus became acquainted with the best words and idioms of the language. He endeavoured to have the German of the Bible not only the best and most classical, but also the most simple. There is no translation of Scripture to be compared with Luther's, except that of the English Bible. It would be impossible to estimate the importance of this magnificent achievement. To the humble homes it brought a means of access to a world of beautiful ideas; it fostered independence of character, nourished religious sentiment, opened inexhaustible sources of consolation, and imparted dignity to lives that would otherwise have been dull and sordid. Hitherto, the German language had had no standard. The Lutheran Bible now became the standard for the German language, and thus a principle of unity was established in the midst of political discord. To this translation of Luther's the greatest German writers have gone to learn the secret of a perfectly pure, unaffected, and measured style. In short, Luther was the maker of the German language.

Luther's hymns are an expression of the same kind of power which gave unfading beauty to his translation of the Bible. The thirty-six hymns which he himself left us

have become the foundation of all our church melody. As far as spiritual lyric poetry can give expression to the prayer and thankfulness of a congregation, these hymns of Luther's do so, echoing the word of God in the heart of the praying Christian. None of his own hymns are paraphrases of the Psalms. Some are composed from fragments of old German songs; some translated from Latin. Luther's earnest advocacy of instrumental music and singing of choirs in the German churches did much to lay hold on the young. He himself undertook the arrangement of the church music in general, so that all the people might share in this part of the public worship of God. The church music of Germany owed its improvement, if indeed not its origin, to Luther, who was passionately fond of music. "Music," he says, "is one of the fairest of God's gifts to man: Satan hates music because it drives away temptation and evil thoughts. The notes make the words alive. It is the best refreshment to the troubled soul. I could allow no man to be a schoolmaster who cannot sing, nor would I let him preach either. I have no pleasure in any man who, like the fanatics, despises music. It is God's gift to drive away the devil and make us forget our anger, our impurity, our pride, and evil tempers. I place music next to theology. I see why David and all the saints put their dismal thoughts into song."

Luther, the learned monk, was a great preacher, and, although he had to attend to his University work as well as to many other duties, he never ceased to preach. Like Paul, he felt that woe would be to him if he preached not the Gospel. At times he was in the habit of making long preaching tours. When sick on several occasions, the people gathered to his house and listened there to the word of the Gospel. When Wittenberg was visited by a deadly plague, and the people fled in crowds, Luther refused to go. Even when the law of the land demanded his departure, he remained and preached to the people.

The doctrine of justification by faith formed the centre and substance of his preaching. "It was good to preach the law," he said, "but it was by the Gospel that men would be drawn to Jesus." Pardon by faith in the blood was the theme upon which he delighted to dwell. "Men wish to do good works," he says, "before their sins are pardoned, whereas sin must be pardoned before good works can be done. Repent and do all the good works that you can do, but let the faith which you have in the pardon of Jesus Christ stand in the first rank and have sole command on the field of battle."

In our day, Luther would not be regarded as very orthodox. He was not sure of the inspiration of Jonah. "The fish would have digested Jonah in three hours to say nothing of three days. The miracle of the Red Sea is nothing to this." He was an apologist for Pilate, and maintained that he scourged Jesus in the hope that the Jew might then be released. "Pilate's wife's dream," he says, "is from the devil. The devil said, 'I have strangled so many prophets and gained nothing by it; it is better Christ should live. I shall perhaps be able to tempt him to do wrong.' The devil has fine notions in his head sometimes: he is no fool."

Luther was in the mist about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He was practically a Roman Catholic on transubstantiation. He always stuck by the literal meaning of the words, "This is my body." No one can very well understand what Luther's views were on the Sacrament of the Supper, and it is questionable whether he knew himself. "Men talk metaphysics," said a Scottish blacksmith, "when their audience do not know what they say, and when they do not know it themselves." It is to be feared that in many things about the Lord's Supper, Luther talked metaphysics of this kind.

Yet upon the whole, Luther was orthodox according to orthodox ideas. He preached the three R's—Ruin, Redemption, Regeneration; and if a man is known to be sound on these doctrines, other questions are of minor importance. He always stuck to his text in preaching, and tried to bring out of it what was in it.

"I heard your cousin, John Palmer, to-day," said his wife to him, "and I liked him better than Dr. Pomer, though he is held to be an excellent preacher." Luther answered, "John Palmer preaches as you women talk, for what comes into your minds you speak. A preacher ought to remain by his text, but a preacher who speaks everything that comes into his head is like a maid that goes to market, and, meeting another maid, makes a stand, and they hold together a goose market."

"The following," he says, "are marks of a good preacher:—

"1. He must teach systematically.
2. He must have a ready wit.
3. He must be eloquent.
4. He must have a good voice.
5. He must have a good memory.
6. He must be sure of his doctrine.
7. He must venture, and engage body and blood, wealth and honour in the work.
8. He must suffer himself to be insulted and jeered at by everyone.
9. He must know when to make an end."

Luther loved his home, and, although he had innumerable engagements, and was constantly worried, he never forgot it. After the last struggle of the Reformation had, to a certain extent, ceased, Luther lived on a small farm which in his spare moments he worked himself with great

delight. His wife, Catherine von Bora, with whom he spent twenty-one happy years, was his comfort and joy. "She was careful, diligent, and thrifty, and quite competent not only to manage the household duties, but even the work of the farm."

"In all his wife's household cares and anxieties, in all her efforts after order and thrift, in the great and small things that interested her, he did not think it beneath him to sympathise and stand by her." Their marriage was a singularly happy one, and of their five children, he was passionately fond—remembering the severity with which he himself was treated in his youth.

He often found illustration from Scripture for his children. One day his daughter Magdalen was brought to sing to him. She refused to do so, and when her mother insisted, Luther said, "Nothing good comes of violence: without grace the works of the law are nought." He allowed his children every kind of innocent enjoyment, and tried to make their childhood bright and happy years for them to look back upon.

On the 17th February, 1546, Luther took suddenly ill, away from home, at Eisleben, where he was born. He died on the 18th in the presence of his two sons. A friend that stood by asked "if he would still stand by Christ and the doctrine he had preached." "Yes!" was the reply. The doctrine that he delighted to preach was, "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." "Among the heroes of the Christian faith," says J. A. Froude, "there has not arisen a greater than Martin Luther."

CHAPTER XXII.

Melancthon (1497-1560).

Philip Melancthon was born at Bretten of pious parents on 16th February, 1497, fourteen years after the birth of Luther and twelve years before that of Calvin. His mother was the daughter of John Reuter, mayor of the town. His father, George Schwarzerd, was distinguished not only for his integrity, prudence, and other virtues, but also by his remarkable ingenuity as an inventor of all kinds of instruments adapted either to the purposes of war or the fashionable tournaments of the age. He attracted the attention of the Emperor Maximilian, and was appointed his armourer. As the father forged the implements of war for his country, the son was destined to forge the instruments of that spiritual warfare by which his country was set free from the yoke of Papal oppression.

Left fatherless at the tender age of eleven, Philip's education was committed to the management of his paternal grandfather, John Reuter. While attending school along with his brother at Pforzheim, he became the object of attention and affection of his granduncle, the celebrated Hebraist Reuchlin, who presented him with a Bible. This Bible Melancthon made his earnest study and constant companion. During the public service at church, he held it in his hand to stimulate and enliven his devotions. His bigoted fellow-worshippers accused him of reading heretical books, his Bible not being of the same form or size as the prayer book. "A new language," said one of the monkish fraternity of these days, "has been invented which is called

Greek. Guard against it. It is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament. It is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to the Hebrew language, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted into Jews."

Melancthon entered the University of Heidelberg in his thirteenth year. He mastered all the branches of knowledge, especially the classical, and graduated Master of Arts in Tübingen University at the age of seventeen. Reuchlin, becoming his patron after the fashion of the age, gave him his Greek name Melancthon in exchange for his German family name Schwarzerd, which means black earth. Reuchlin took a keen interest in the career of the young student, who was destined to do for the Greek text of the New Testament what he himself did for the Hebrew text of the Old. So far did the great scholar serve the Reformation cause. But when the final step required to be taken, he remained in the Church like Erasmus and Staupitz. He was afraid of being called a heretic. He even afterwards tried to influence Melancthon to abandon the Reformation cause, but in vain. He withdrew his promise to bequeath to him his library. He died at Stuttgart in 1522, in poverty, like many another great scholar.

Melancthon applied himself with marked success to the study of philosophy, mathematics, natural science, law, and medicine, but especially to the Greek and Roman classics which were then raised to life again, and had kindled the fire of enthusiasm for liberal culture among the scholars of Italy, France, England, Holland, and Germany. "The studies flourish," said Ulrich Von Hutten, "the spirits are awake, it is a luxury to live." "If you read all the annals of the past," says Luther, "you will find no century like this since the days of Christ. Such building and planting,

such good living and dressing, such enterprise in commerce, such stir in all the arts has not been since Christ came into the world, and how numerous are the sharp and intelligent wits who leave nothing hidden and unturned. Even a boy of twelve years knows more now-a-days than was formerly known by Doctors of Divinity." If that was true of Reformation times, how much more so of the present age?

Melancthon's interest did not at this time lie in the direction of theology, but, having pious training at home, he took great delight in public worship and in reading the Greek Testament and the lives of the Saints. He attained to great distinction as a scholar even at this early age. He wrote and spoke the ancient languages better than his native German. The famous Erasmus, the prince of classical scholars, says, "What expectation does Philip Melancthon excite, who is yet a youth, yea, we may say a mere boy! He has already attained to equal eminence in the Greek and Latin literature. What purity and elegance of style, what rare learning, what comprehensive reading, what tenderness and refinement in his expanding genius!"

Melancthon resided six years at Tübingen, first as its leading student and afterwards as its most distinguished lecturer. So versatile was his genius that he lectured on logic, ethics, mathematics, rhetoric, and theology. But he was particularly famed for his lectures on the classics. Erasmus, referring to him in another place, says, "I am persuaded that Christ designs this youth to excel us all. He will totally eclipse Erasmus. He not only excels in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him."

Melancthon's connection with Reuchlin and his careful reading of the Bible he gave him opened his eyes to the corruption of the Church and the priesthood, and favourably disposed him to the Reformation movement.

The Greek Chair in the University of Wittenberg was vacant. Melancthon, on the recommendation of Reuchlin, was invited by the Elector of Saxony to accept the chair, and, although he had calls to Ingolstadt and Leipzig, he went to Wittenberg. He arrived there a year after the publication of Luther's Theses and two years before the burning of the Pope's Bull of excommunication. He came then to stay. Next to Luther's house and the Castle Church, there is not to-day in that town a more interesting spot than Melancthon's old house, which has inscribed on its old wall, "Here dwelt, taught, and died Philip Melancthon."

Although yet a youth of twenty-one, Melancthon gained the esteem and admiration of his colleagues and students. His learning was undoubted, and his character above suspicion. His opening lecture took professors and students by surprise. He completely reorganised the system of teaching, and raised it to a high standard. His fame attracted students from all parts of Christendom, including princes, counts, and barons. As many as from 1,500 to 2,000 students attended his lectures. What counteracting force must have gone forth from that seat of learning against the gross ignorance and superstition of the age! So gross and superstitious was it indeed that many believed anything and everything that proceeded from the Church. A Dutchman, for example, making his confession to a priest at Rome, promised by an oath to keep secret whatever the priest should impart to him till he came into Germany, upon which the priest gave him, very neatly bound up in a silken cloth, a leg of the ass upon which Christ rode into Jerusalem. The Dutchman was wonderfully pleased, and carried the holy relic with him into Germany. When he came upon the borders, he boasted of his holy possession in the presence of four others of his comrades. But each of the four having also received a leg from the priest, and promised the same

secrecy, they enquired with astonishment whether the ass had five legs.

Melancthon graduated as Bachelor of Divinity. He declined to accept the honour of Doctor of Divinity. He was a member of the faculty of theology, and delivered lectures in theology and exegesis. He was never ordained, and never ascended the pulpit. But for the benefit of foreign students who did not know German he delivered every Sunday a Latin sermon. He was the most popular teacher in Wittenberg. The two Wittenberg reformers were, no doubt, brought together by the hand of Providence. The one was the complement of the other. Luther was the pioneer. "I am rough, boisterous, and stormy," said Luther, "altogether warlike, fighting against innumerable monsters and devils. I am born for the work of removing stumps and stones, cutting away thistles and thorns, and clearing the wild forest. But Master Philip comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy." Luther was a stronger man than Melancthon, and differed from him as the wild mountain torrent differs from the quiet stream of the meadow. Luther was a man of war; Melancthon was a man of peace. Luther was a creative genius and pioneer of new paths; Melancthon a highly gifted scholar of untiring industry. Without Luther the Reformation would never have taken hold of the common people. Without Melancthon, it would never have succeeded among the scholars of Germany. Without Luther, Melancthon would have been a second Erasmus—though with a profounder interest in religion—and the Reformation would have resulted in a liberal theological school instead of giving birth to a Church.

When a great movement is to be originated and guided, God has ready the men best fitted for it, and no two men could be better qualified, and more the complement the one

of the other, than Luther and Melancthon to originate and carry to a successful issue the strong current of feeling and thought to which the German Reformation gave rise.

Melancthon's friends at Wittenberg, anxious to have his services, which were eagerly sought by so many distinguished universities, thought they could best retain him amongst them by the ties of marriage. Being neither an ordained clergyman nor a monk, like Luther and other reformers, he had no vows of celibacy that might hinder him from entering the marriage state. Luther himself married four years later, "not so much," he said "from inclination as for the purpose of pleasing his father, teasing the Pope, and vexing the devil."

The young professor frequented the house of the burgomaster of the town, a Mr. Krapp, who belonged to an ancient family. Krapp had a daughter named Catherine—a woman of mild character and great sensibility. Melancthon's friends urged him to ask her in marriage. But the young scholar was absorbed in his books, and would have no mention of anything besides. His Greek studies and his New Testament were his delight. With difficulty they at length extorted his consent. All the preliminary steps were arranged, and Catherine was given to him to wife. He received her very coldly, and said with a sigh, "It is God's will. I must renounce my studies and my pleasures to comply with the wishes of my friends."

To spare a whole day from his students for the sake of his marriage appeared to be a great sacrifice to him, and was publicly intimated to his students in the following curious notice:—

> "Rest from your studies, Philip says you may,
> He'll read no lectures on St. Paul to-day."

Catherine proved a devoted wife, and always became alarmed at any danger that threatened her husband's health.

Whenever Melancthon proposed to take any step of a dangerous character, she persuaded him with entreaties to renounce it. "I was compelled," he wrote on one occasion, "to give way to her weakness. Such is our lot." His marriage proved a happy one. He always declared that his wife was worthy of a better husband. Two sons and two daughters were born to them. His son, Philip, grieved his father's heart by a private marriage. He became a Notary Public, and died without children in his eightieth year. One of his daughters married a poet of no great account. His other daughter was the wife of a distinguished physician, Gaspard Peucer, who, after Melancthon's death, ruled the University. The house of Melancthon was open to strangers. Through the careful management of his fathful servant, the young couple were able to show hospitality. As a family they lived economically, for they had to live on small means, so small that the first year he could not buy a new dress for his wife. When Cardinal Bembo of Rome heard of his small salary, he exclaimed, "O ungrateful Germany!" They however preferred, as Melancthon often said, plain living and high thinking to plain thinking with high living. He called his house a little church, and in his family had the Apostle's Creed repeated three times a day. He was a most affectionate and devoted father. One day a Frenchman found him holding a book in the one hand and rocking a cradle with the other. Upon his manifesting surprise, Melancthon conversed with him on the duties of parents and the regard of Heaven for little children, so that his astonishment was quickly transformed into admiration. Philip and Catherine lived together for thirty-seven years. Her husband was away from home when she died. When the news was broken to him, he looked up to heaven with a sigh, and said, "Soon will I follow thee." He did so in about two and a half years. He wrote the following epitaph on the tombstone:—

> "Deposited beneath this hallowed earth
> Lies Catherine's dust, of Krappin's house by birth;
> To Philip joined by wedlock's sacred name,
> Philip whose writings will prolong their fame.
> Virtues which Christ bestowed adorn her life,
> And such as Paul affirms become a wife.
> Her Philip absent mourned the chastening rod—
> By filial tenderness beneath this clod
> Her body's placed: her soul is fled to God."

After the death of Luther in 1546, the whole leadership of the Church practically devolved upon Melancthon. This was too much for him, lacking as he did the strength of mind and courage which were so singularly displayed in Luther, and so essential to Melancthon. The war between Catholics and Protestants broke out at this time, much to the weakening of the Church's cause and the alarm of its leader. Charles V. defeated the Lutheran princes at Mühlberg, 24th April, 1547, entered Wittenberg, and stood thoughtfully before the grave of Luther in the Castle Church. Although Charles regretted that he did not burn the heretic at Worms, yet he promptly declined the proposal of one of his generals, to dig up and burn his bones and scatter the ashes to the four winds. "I war," he said, "against the living, not the dead." The University was dissolved. Melancthon and his family and Luther's widow fled. Melancthon, however, returned after the victory of the Elector Maurice of Saxony over the Emperor, and laboured twelve years more at the head of the University, which rose again to a high degree of prosperity.

At this time Melancthon was violently assailed by fanatical Lutherans, some of whom were his own friends and former pupils—Flacius, Westphal, and Hesslusius. They accused him of treason to the cause of truth and of yielding too much to Popery on the one hand, and to Calvinism on the other. He submitted too much, it was maintained, to compromises at Augsburg and Leipzig.

Melancthon was most anxious to prevent the reintroduction of Papacy into Germany by preserving the unity of the various sections of Protestantism. He was quite prepared to submit to ceremonies that in themselves were indifferent, and to bear with doctrinal differences that were of minor importance. He was much disposed to unite with the Reformed Church, and this all the more because of his friendship with Calvin. The latter fact gave great offence to the bigoted party in the Lutheran Church. This party continued their controversies long after his death, but their difficulties were at last adjusted by the formula of concord and the triumph of strict Lutheran orthodoxy in 1577. In the latter days of his life he grieved much for the divisions of the Church. He often prayed to be delivered from the fury of theologians. His heart and soul longed for the unity prayed for by the Master: "That all believers may be perfected in one even as I and the Father are one." "If my eyes were a fountain of tears as rich as the river Elbe," he said, "I could not sufficiently express my sorrow over the division and distraction of Christians."

Melancthon lived a most anxious and active life. His time he most carefully economised. His engagements were kept with absolute punctuality. He retired early to bed and was generally at his desk at three in the morning. Thus it was that he not only wrote so voluminously, but was also able to attend to correspondence with many of the learned and leading men of Europe. His counsel was sought far and wide. He was more than once earnestly pressed by the Kings of France and England to visit their countries and even to abide there, but he loved his fatherland and his favourite Wittenberg. His works fill twenty-eight large volumes of the *Corpus Reformatorum,* edited by Bretschneider and Bindseid, 1836-60. They embrace theology, philosophy, philology, meteorology, and the science of education. He wrote a large number of manuals, dissertations, polemical

tracts, church ordinances, counsels, prefaces, and letters. His great work is the Augsburg Confession, the generally received creed of the Lutheran Church, drawn up during the German diet of 1530. To meet the views of the Reformed Churches, he afterwards improved it. The Confession has often been signed by the Reformed Church and by John Calvin. It was disowned by the Lutheran party. His *Loci Communes* proceeded from his lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Luther thought so much of the work that he said it was worthy of a place in the Canon.

Melancthon was a man who grew with the times. He was open to conviction, and ready to make changes to suit altered circumstances without sacrificing truth. His *Loci* is the ablest theological work of the Lutheran Church in the sixteenth century. Calvin's *Institutes* (1536) equals it in freshness and fervour, but surpasses it in completeness and logical order, philosophical grasp, and classical finish. It seems notable that the first and greatest dogmatic systems of the Reformation proceed from these two theologians, who were never ordained. The Apostles were not baptised by Christ with water, but they were baptised by the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. And these two great reformers, whose theological works are the acknowledged foundation of the Protestant faith, had not laid upon them the hands of either presbyter or prelate. But the Holy Ghost, the gifting of whom for His Church is not the monopoly of either pope or bishop, anointed them and made men and theologians of them whose works, and the result of whose work, shall live through coming ages.

To Melancthon belonged the distinction of breaking up the mediæval method of allegorical interpretation of Scripture, declaring, as against the old four-fold sense, that the Scripture has one simple sense and only one, as divine truth is one and simple. Allegorical ideas are only illustrations and not proofs. He held also, as against the priestly

ignorance of the time, that only he can rightly understand the Bible who possesses not merely the necessary historical knowledge but who above all things is master of the original tongues.

Melancthon did splendid service for Protestantism as against the scholastic system in his *Apologia* for the Augsburg Confession. In that work we have the foundation of our accepted doctrines on original sin, the grace of Christ, justification, the relation of works to grace, and the doctrine of the Church. "We shall never understand Christ's work," he says, "unless we recognise our own evil." On the sacraments he says, "As the word preached strikes the ear in order to reach the heart, so press the sacramental elements on the eye in like manner to stir the heart." On the question of the sacraments and the freedom of the will, Melancthon is a much safer man to follow than Luther, and to-day we acknowledge that he was right in refuting Luther's doctrine of the absolute slavery of the human will. By emphasizing the necessity of good works, he guarded Christian morality against one-sided fanaticism.

While Melancthon and Luther differed on many important problems, yet no two could be more loving towards each other. Their friendship is one of the most delightful chapters in the religious drama of the sixteenth century. In spite of differences and occasional ill-humour on Luther's part, their friendship lasted till the end. "I prefer the books of Mr. Philip Melancthon to my own," said Luther. Luther leaned much upon his judgment and scholarship, and seemed never jealous of his fame. "Alas," he said on one occasion when Melancthon seemed at death's door, "alas, that the devil should have thus unstrung so fine an instrument." Dr. Adolf Harnack quotes the following three sayings of Melancthon:—(1) "I have to thank Luther as one from whom I learned the Gospel"; (2) "Every theologian and faithful expositor of Divine truth must be first a

grammarian, second, a dialectician, thirdly, a witness"; (3) "I can say that in my whole theological labour I have never followed any other end than the betterment of life." "In these sayings," adds Dr. Harnack, "we have the whole Melancthon." That Luther opened to him the Gospel and the Scriptures and so placed his life upon a rock was what Melancthon never forgot. In all other respects he remained Melancthon pursuing after a brief indecision the track which his capacity and training opened to him. That track led both himself and German Protestantism into the fiercest and most embittered struggles, but to-day we recognise that the blessing which flows to us from Melancthon far exceeded the disadvantages of the strife. He it was who, by his Christian humanism, prevented the threatened split between the Reformation and the New Learning of the time. It was he who founded the evangelical lay morality, and was the author of organised Protestantism. He built up the fabric of the Evangelical Church. He was the theological defender of the doctrine of freedom. Melancthon was a student till the close of his life. Though his declining years were marked with much bodily affliction and mental suffering on account of the division of the Church and the bitter animosity of his enemies, still he preserved his early gentleness of spirit and generosity of heart, was ever willing to help the needy and ever ready to accommodate those who sought his favour. Generosity was one of his earliest characteristics, and it never forsook him. On one occasion, having accumulated a large collection of coins and curiosities, he offered a certain stranger who was gratified with the sight to take any one he would like, upon which the stranger said, "I have a particular wish for them all." Melancthon, though he did not dissemble his displeasure at such consummate effrontery, yet granted his unwarrantable request.

To the last this benevolent spirit was not wanting in his

life. His faith never wavered. He found much comfort when dying in the following thoughts, which he had written in two columns on a piece of paper, to show why it was desirable to leave this world. One of the columns contained the blessings which death would procure:—"You will come to the light; you will see God; you will contemplate the Son of God; you will understand those admirable mysteries which you could not comprehend in the present life; you will know why you are created as you are; you will comprehend the union of the two natures of Christ." The second column assigns two reasons for not regretting his departure:—"You will sin no more; you will no more be exposed to the vexation of controversy and the rage of theologians."

When his son-in-law asked him, a few hours before his death, whether he desired anything, he answered, "Nothing but heaven." His last audible words were a hearty response to the prayer of the Psalmist, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of truth."

"On the 19th of April, 1560, at the age of 63," says his biographer, Francis Augustus Cox, "Melancthon expired like a wave scarcely curling to the evening zephyr of an unclouded summer sky and gently rippling to the shore. It was a departure, a sleep. The earthly house of the tabernacle was dissolved. His remains were placed in a leaden coffin and deposited close to the body of Martin Luther. Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."

Melancthon more than any other of the reformers represents the spirit and aim of Christian union on the basis of the everlasting Gospel revealed in the New Testament and in the life and example of our Lord. To him indeed applies the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." His life and work are replete with interest and full of significance for the present day.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531).

Travellers in Switzerland invariably gravitate towards Zurich, the capital of the canton that bears the name. The town is divided by the river Limmat into two nearly equal parts. The river is spanned within the limits of the town by five bridges. Zurich is sometimes called the Athens of Switzerland. The university, gymnasium, school of industry, and other educational establishments, enjoy a high reputation. There are also botanic gardens, a good library, and several useful museums. Coverdale's Bible, the first entire version of the Scriptures in English, is believed to have been printed in this town in 1539. Twenty-one years previous to this date, the cathedral, a fine old building of the eleventh century, was crowded every week, if not every day of the week, with all classes of the community, who listened with rapt attention to the most eloquent and most effective preacher in Switzerland. There was no mystery about this man's preaching; his sermons were plain, commonsense, incisive statements from Scripture. The Bible, not the traditions of his Church, was his theme; nor was he long in Zurich till he obtained permission from the town council for the priests to preach only what they found in the Scriptures.

The influence of this great preacher rapidly spread till it reached all the cantons of the country, and stirred to its foundation, politically as well as ecclesiastically, the national life of Switzerland. John Knox did not move the life of the Scottish nation more than the preacher of Zurich did that of his native land. Switzerland is not unlike Scotland

in physical features, and is somewhat similar in area and population. What Edinburgh was to Scotland in the days of John Knox, Zurich was in many respects to Switzerland; and as John Knox was both the preacher and reformer of Scotland, Ulrich Zwingli was, though in a less degree, the patriot and reformer of Switzerland.

Zwingli was a native of the Tockenburg Valley, in the south-east of Switzerland. He was born at Wildhaus on 1st January, 1484. So high up amongst the mountains was this district, that no fruit ripened in it, and no road passed through it. Zwingli's father was the head man or magistrate of the commune. His uncles were clergymen, one of them being Dean of Wesen. The house of Ulrich Zwingli, the bailiff, was the favourite resort of the neighbours in the winter evenings. Sitting around the hearth, the elders of the village related tales of chivalry borrowed from the ancient Swiss ballads. The heroic and patriotic deeds of William Tell, and of other brave men of their mountains, in rolling back from their hills the hosts of Charles the Bold, were listened to by the children, whose young minds were kindled into enthusiasm as they heard related, and imagined they saw, the battles of their country fought over again and its liberty secured. None listened more eagerly than Ulrich. The brave deeds and folk-lore of his native valley had for him a peculiar fascination. But there were other heroes whose brave deeds interested him as much, if not more, the heroes of Hebrew history, with whom his aged grandmother made him familiar. The education of his home laid a good foundation for the future of the young Ulrich. His father marked with delight the amiable disposition, the truthful character, and the lively genius of his son, and resolved to give him the best education his circumstances could afford, and to train him for the Church.

Zwingli was accordingly sent to school, first at Basle, then at Berne, and thence to the University of Vienna.

There he became a distinguished classical scholar, and soon out-distanced his fellow-students, and in some instances stood abreast of his teachers.

The dawn of learning, lightening France and Germany from Italy, was advancing, and Zwingli was in the foremost ranks of the scholars of his day, and delighted to call himself a humanist. Returning to Basle University, he sat at the feet of the distinguished theologian Thomas Wittenbach, a disciple of Reuchlin, the famous Hebraist, who at that time strongly declaimed against indulgences on the ground that Christ by his death had paid a ransom for all men's sins. At this same time the celebrated Erasmus came to Basle, drawn thither by the fame of its printing press. There he translated the New Testament into Latin from the original Greek, dedicating it to Pope Leo X. In this work the great scholar enjoyed the aid of Œcolampadius, which he acknowledged with much laudation.

Wittenbach exercised so powerful an influence over the young student that he resolved to devote himself entirely to the study of theology. In 1506 he obtained the degree of M.A. in the liberal arts, and in the same year he was chosen curate of Glarus at the age of twenty-one. In this extensive parish he laboured for ten years, years of hard study and pastoral work. The ancient classics received the undivided attention of his leisure time. The beautiful genius, the elevation of soul and love of country which distinguished some of the great men of heathendom, he attributed to the influence of the Holy Ghost. "If the Catos," said he, "Scipio and Camillus had not been truly religious, could they have been so high-minded?"

In the study of the classics, in which he found so much delight, Zwingli interested the young men of his parish. He founded Latin schools, which were attended by the youth of the best families, and from these schools went forth many students to the University of Vienna. From the Latin

classics he turned his attention to the Greek. Through this study, a new world opened to him. "Nothing but God," he said, "shall prevent me from acquiring Greek, not for fame but for the sake of the Holy Scriptures." He read the New Testament with delight, finding that he could study the doctrine of Christ from the original source. He copied the Pauline Epistles in the original, made explanatory notes on the margin, and committed them to memory, word for word. The copy is still extant. He made the scriptures his study, a rare thing amongst the ecclesiastics of Switzerland. At a meeting of all the Deans of the Confederation, it was found, Bullinger says, that not more than three were at home in the Bible, and all the rest confessed that they had never read the New Testament. Here, as elsewhere at that time, the clergy were sunk in luxury and hypocrisy.

Switzerland had been for many years the recruiting ground for Emperor, King, and Pope in their perpetual struggle for Lombardy. The youth in Switzerland were hired out from time to time as soldiers to the highest bidders. The leading men, clerical and lay, disgracefully trafficked for gold in the flower of the youth of their country, whose blood was shed for money in the service of foreign powers. Those who survived the wars returned home contaminated with the worst vices of these foreign countries. Zwingli, on two occasions while in Glarus, accompanied his countrymen as chaplain to the war. His eyes were opened to see the demoralizing effect of such debasing traffic. He turned his attention to the study of the whole question in its relation to the Church, with the result that his mind began to become alienated from the Pope and from the Church.

In 1516, Zwingli was translated to Einsiedeln Abbey, which was then in the hands of a free-thinker, and where there was a most famous miracle-working image. The place was sunk in the grossest superstition. On the portal of the abbey was an inscription: "Plenary indulgences to be

obtained within." Pilgrims at certain seasons of the year flocked in multitudes to this shrine. Zwingli was deeply moved. He boldly proclaimed the Gospel to the multitudes. He declared to them that they had come their long journey in vain. "Do you think," he said, "that those elect of God to whose feet you are flocking attained the glory of heaven by the merits of others? Not so; but by keeping the paths of law, by subjection to the will of the highest, and by devotion to their Saviour unto death. Walk in their footsteps; in the day of trouble put your trust in God, and in the hour of death call upon Jesus Christ alone, who bought you with His blood, and is the only mediator between God and man." The preaching of Zwingli put a stop to the flow of pilgrims. The multitudes sought and found rest for their souls not in shrines but in Jesus Christ. The Pope saw all this, but did not interfere, for he needed the youth of Switzerland for his wars, and to interfere with the preacher would be to interfere with military help from that quarter.

After two years of most successful service at Einsiedeln, Zwingli was appointed pastor of the Cathedral in Zurich. At that time Tetzel's Swiss counterpart, Bernhasdin Samson, arrived in Switzerland, proclaiming his shameless traffic. Zwingli prevailed upon the people of Zurich to close their gates upon him and send the barefooted friar out of the country. The Pope, still anxious to keep on good terms with the Swiss Confederation, in order to obtain the usual military help, praised Zwingli for driving the strange wolf from the flock. The traffic of indulgences roused the young preacher to greater earnestness. He exposed its evils; he continued to preach with great fervour from the Gospel of Matthew and the Pauline Epistles; he spoke against superstition, bigotry, and hypocrisy, exposed vice, denounced oppression, and pointed out the way of salvation by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Thomas Plater,

a travelling scholar, said that, when listening to him, he always felt as if someone were pulling him by the hair.

Francis I. and the Pope once more offered their gold to secure the youth of Switzerland for war. Zurich alone refused, but when the ambassadors of the Pope and Emperor arrived to plead their cause, Zwingli was vanquished. The youth of Zurich were sent off to foreign war. This roused the ire of the preacher, and he spoke strongly against the Pope and his cardinals. "How appropriate," said he, "are their red hats and cloaks. If you shake them, out fall ducats; if you ring them, out flows the blood of your sons, brothers, and friends."

Zwingli was promised a rich living if he would preach no more against the Pope. He refused the bait, and went on his way as a reformer. The Town Council enjoined upon all curates, pastors, and teachers, "to preach the Holy Gospels and Epistles agreeably to the spirit of God, and to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament."

In 1522, Zwingli published his treatise on fasting, and many of the people at once used the forbidden kinds of food during Lent. He preached against the celibacy of the clergy, and the people applauded. He himself, afterwards, like Luther, took to himself a wife.

The people were asked by the bishop of Constance to silence the rash preacher, but the Council fixed a date (23rd January, 1523) for a public discussion.

Zwingli drew up a list of sixty-seven theses, stating in order the points wherein his teaching differed from that of his accusers. "Christ died," said Zwingli in his defence, "on the Cross once for all for the sins of His people, and, therefore, the Mass which professes to repeat the sacrifice is false, and the Eucharist is only a commemorative feast. Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man, and, therefore, saint worship is idolatry. The Holy Spirit says nothing about purgatory and there is none. Nothing

is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy. It follows, therefore, that everything that assumes sanctity in the sight of man is folly." This condemns cowls, symbols, and tonsures. Absolutions, celibacy, and auricular confession were condemned in similar fashion. A crowd assembled to hear the disputation. A former friend of his, John Feber, along with others, maintained the old doctrine. Scripture being the standard of appeal, the opposition was forced to yield. This disputation was followed by another next year, and a third the following year, the result of these three being that Zwingli thoroughly won to his side the canton of Zurich and its magistrates. The reformation of Zurich was rapid and thorough. The basis of it was the Word of God. Whatever was not in conformity with that in doctrine or worship was swept away.

The basis of Luther's Reformation was justification by faith. That of Zwingli was broader. The issue was not on one point. It was on the Scriptures as a whole. Luther's justification by faith had to be tested by the Word of God. The Reformation of Luther was founded upon access to God by faith in Jesus Christ; that of Zwingli through the authority and promises of Scripture. Regarding the form of worship, Luther said "What is not forbidden in Scripture may be adopted." Zwingli maintained that nothing but what is commanded and can be justified by Scripture can be allowed. Hence Luther permitted the people to retain many of the ancient forms of worship, and also to retain images in churches, while Zwingli abandoned the old forms, and the churches were cleared of images, altars, and organs.

The question of the sacraments, however, created the greatest difference between the two reformers, and did the greatest harm to the cause of the Reformation. It prevented union between the Swiss and the Germans, weakened the strength, and retarded the progress of the great movement. Luther's early education and monkish life made it difficult

for him to get rid of his Church's conception of the Eucharist. He persisted in holding the literal interpretation of the words, "This is my body!" To this he added the ubiquity of Christ's body and the prevailing faith of the Church before the Reformation. He affirmed the objective presence of the glorified body and blood of Christ in connection with the bread and wine, so that the body and blood in some mysterious way was actually received by the communicant whether believer or not. This doctrine is generally termed that of consubstantiation. Zwingli, on the other hand, denied that Christ was really in any such sense present in the sacrament, and made it simply a memorial of His atoning death. He compared the sacrament to a wedding ring which seals the marriage union between Christ and the believer. "We believe," he says, "that the true body of Christ is eaten in the Communion not in a gross and carnal manner, but in a sacramental and spiritual manner by the religious, believing, and pious heart." In his polemical writings, Zwingli insists upon the absence of Christ's body, and holds that the positive truth of His spiritual presence is not sufficiently emphasised. Calvin's theory is a middle course. He admits the spiritual presence, but he lays greater stress upon the spiritual participation. When the visible signs of bread and wine are received by the body, the soul receives by faith alone the thing signified and sealed thereby.

Luther and Zwingli met at Marburg in 1529, when they were unable either at the private conference or at the public assembly to come to an agreement. Zwingli, with tears in his eyes, offered his hand in fraternal friendship to Luther, but the Saxon reformer refused to take it. He could not join in Christian fellowship with one who denied what he deemed a fundamental article of the Christian faith. Before they separated, however, they subscribed to a statement of those great points of doctrine upon which they were agreed, and

promised to treat one another with all the toleration consistent with a good conscience.

From Zurich the contagion of the Reformation spread to other important centres, like Basle and Berne. The former was a seat of learning. Here, as already noticed, Erasmus had his headquarters. Here, too, resided Wittenbach, Zwingli's teacher; Capito, the future reformer of Strassburg; Œcolampadius, the scholar of Reuchlin; and Farel, a young Frenchman, who was to win over Calvin to active work as a reformer. These were a galaxy of men of intellect, of whom the principle of the Reformation took hold, and they lent their aid and some of them their eloquence against the superstitions of the Romish Church.

Berne, which was the most aristocratic of the Swiss cantons, caught the fire, and the Town Council decided that only the pure Gospel should be preached to the people. It was here that one of the public disputations was held on the 20th of January, 1528. It was attended by three hundred and fifty of the clergy and noblemen, and the Catholics sustained a marked defeat. The worship of Berne and the constitution of the city were radically reformed. Preachers gave their official oath to the civil magistrates. The images were removed, though amidst opposition. The organ in the minster was broken up. A political reformation was carried out alongside of the religious. The Lords of the Council decreed that the observance of the Mass should cease in Berne. The altar was not now needed. In the Cathedral, servants and masters, with uplifted hands, vowed that they would stand by the reformed religion. Similar changes took place in smaller cities. The Forest cantons alone remained unmoved. They indeed opposed strongly every advance of the Reformation. Yet preachers found their way to these cantons, and proclaimed the reformed doctrines. But they were seized, imprisoned, and some of

them put to the most cruel death. Zwingli seemed to think that compulsion might aid his cause, and threatened war. Meanwhile, these cantons sought and were promised the aid of their old enemy, Austria. The reformed cantons advanced against their brethren. The war, however, was arrested, and an agreement of peace was arrived at, and the league with Austria was broken off. This was called the Treaty of Cappel. Under this treaty, it was agreed that the majority of each canton should determine the faith of that canton, and that no party should make the faith of the other penal. On the basis of this treaty, the mass, images, and altars were abolished in a large number of towns and parishes. But the Forest cantons did not keep faith long with their brethren. They continued their persecutions, and renewed their alliance with Austria.

Zurich again declared for war, and Berne decided to refuse commercial intercourse with the five cantons. By this rather cruel method, the people were being starved. They became enraged, made secret arrangements for war, and with an army of eight thousand bent on revenge, on the 9th October, 1531, rushed down on the Zurich canton. The latter were taken utterly by surprise, and had scarcely time for any preparation. Slowly and wearily their troops assembled on the heights of Abbis. Zwingli accompanied them as war chaplain. He well knew the danger, but did not shrink. He bade a painful farewell to his wife Anna, and tore himself from his children, and, with resolute brow, mounted his horse. "He will never return," said the spectators. Zwingli was heard again and again praying to the Almighty God for help. He refused any advantageous position to save his life. He not only fought bravely in the front ranks, but, as his brethren fell by his side, administered words of consolation to the dying and of encouragement to the living. So brave a resistance did the people of Zurich make, sur-

prised though they were, and faced by superior numbers, that the contest was for a long time doubtful, but they were at last defeated.

When amongst the carnage, Zwingli was breathing a few words of comfort into the ears of a dying man, he received his fatal wound. "What matters it," said he, "they may kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." These were the last words he uttered. As he lay with clasped hands and eyes uplifted to heaven under a pear tree (the spot still bears his name), two camp followers came upon him. "Do you want to confess yourself?" said one of them. The dying man shook his head. "Call in your heart upon Mary, the mother of God," said another. Again he shook his head. Curious to know who this obstinate heretic was, one of them turned his head to the light. "Zwingli! Zwingli!" he cried. An enemy near by shouted, "Zwingli, that vile heretic!" and with the words he raised his sword and cut his throat. The dead body was quartered for treason, and burned to ashes for heresy. The ashes of swine were mingled with his and flung to the four winds of heaven. The Forest cantons had won a signal victory, but were not yet strong enough to conquer the other cities. The terms of peace which they wrung from them, however, were humiliating to the Protestants, and checked the progress of the Reformation.

So ended the struggle originated and carried on so heroically by Ulrich Zwingli. The reformed churches, which have thus had their origin, have been generally taken in England as equivalent to the whole of Protestantism, but on the Continent the reformed churches are distinguished from the evangelical churches. The latter, which predominate in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as in most of Germany, owe their origin historically to Luther. The reformed churches originated by Zwingli in Switzerland spread through France, Holland, England, Scotland, and

America, and have transmitted the controlling influence of Calvin. Both were protests against the interposition of the Church between God and man. The Lutheran Reformation was built on immediate access to God through faith in His promise, the Zwinglian Reformation on the authority of God through His Word, and there can be no question but that the latter has done more for the freedom of the Church than the former. Zwingli has been blamed for mingling politics with religion, for taking up the sword in defence of truth, for his views on Church government in giving the civil magistrate power over the Church, and for insisting upon nothing being introduced into the Church worship that is not commanded in Scripture. But these are faults to be attributed to his age, and to the circumstances in which he was placed.

The movement that he led originated from a different cause and was carried forward on different lines from that of Luther. It was founded more independently upon God's Word, and it was less embarrassed by the traditions of the Romish Church. It was more the result of an awakening of the intellect through the awakening of learning and the new school of interpretation, and some of the reformed churches to-day are not lacking in the inspiration that gave Zwingli that matchless power which he exercised in his native land, the effects of which furnished Calvin with suitable material for his great consolidated work. By the death of Zwingli, a great light had been extinguished in the Church of God. Mighty by their word as the other reformers had been, he was still more mighty than they in his action. And yet in that very power lay his weakness, for he fell under the weight of his strength. A man of learning, a man of eloquence, a man to be relied on as a friend, a man of unbounded courage, and withal a man of God, faithful to his word, faithful to his own convictions, faithful to the interests of his native

land, on whose altar he sacrificed himself, his sun went down amid cloud and tempest, but in the dawn and noon-day of better times the Church of Christ has learned to look back with the utmost favour upon his faith and works, and to thank God for his gifts and for his contribution to vital Christianity.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Gustavus Vasa.

Nothing could be more likely than that the Reformation that took possession of the States of Germany should cross to the adjacent countries of Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula. But the spectacle presented by its course in these countries is very different from what we have observed in Germany and Switzerland. What was accomplished in these lands, either without the aid of or in opposition to monarchial power, became in those parts a weapon in the hands of royalty to establish its power.

In Germany, the Reformation accelerated the downfall of the declining empire, but for the Scandinavian States it secured a new importance. Many causes tended to bind Germany and these adjacent countries together. The people were sprung from the same Teutonic stock. They traded with one another. A few native Germans were dispersed as settlers throughout Scandinavia, and when the school of Wittenberg rose into fame, the Scandinavian youths repaired thither, to sit at the feet of the great doctor of Saxony.

By the union of Calmar in 1397, the three kingdoms—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—came under one sovereign, Queen Margaret; and yet the three, especially two of them, Denmark and Sweden, were quite independent, one of the other; so much so that, for fifty years previous to the Reformation, Sweden, though nominally governed by the King of Denmark, was ruled in reality by a regent—a member of the powerful house of the Stures.

In these countries, the Church and the nobles divided the

land between them. Two-thirds belonged to the Church. The people were enslaved and oppressed. The Regent Sture took their part, and thereby brought upon himself the wrath of both the nobles and the bishops. Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsala, was at open enmity with the Regent. The two measured their strength in an assembly of the States at Stockholm in November, 1517, and the archbishop was defeated and deposed.

Christian II., nephew of the Elector of Saxony, and brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., was King of the united kingdom, although he only partially reigned in Denmark. Christian II. was a man of considerable talent, but of impulsive and fierce passions. One historian states that he was "brutal and tyrannical, though at times he displayed a sense of justice and desired to promote the welfare of his people." Finding that the Church was all powerful, he determined to reduce her strength and wealth. To secure this end, he espoused the cause of the Reformation. He wanted to incite the different classes and different nationalities against each other, and to rule the one by the other. Although nominally King of Sweden, he exerted no sovereign power in that country. He thought the disruption between the Regent Sture and the archbishop a fit occasion to help him to find a real footing amongst the Swedes. Accordingly, he set out for Sweden. He failed, however, in his mission. The Scandinavians, who had been free from the yoke of Denmark for fifty years, could not be enticed to put their neck under the same yoke again. Christian II. was refused even an entrance into the capital, Stockholm. The whole attempt was an utter failure, and the hostages who were given to him to secure a safe conduct at his departure, and whom, instead of sending back, he illegally carried off as prisoners, were his only booty. Two years later, he again invaded Sweden, this time with German and French troops, and conquered the southern part of the

country. The Swedish nobles lost their leader, Sten Sture, and capitulated at Upsala. Stockholm was open to him only on the assured condition of immunity from punishment of all those who had fought against him. Within a year, however, he violated his pledge in a most outrageous manner.

He was crowned King on the 4th November, 1520, amidst all kinds of festivities. On the 7th November he began to show open hostility to the adherents and party of the Stures, and on the 8th began those savage persecutions of eminent ecclesiastics, nobles, and citizens, known as the massacre of Stockholm, which created in Sweden an indescribable hatred of Denmark. No fewer than six hundred of the nobles of the land were murdered in cold blood, amongst them all the members of the late government, who were suspected of opposition to his new plans. It was said that the union of Calmar was drowned in a bath of blood in the massacre of Stockholm. From this time, Christian II. was regarded with implacable hatred in Sweden, and was utterly distrusted in Denmark; for his own people felt that he might any day repeat amongst them the brutal outrage of Stockholm.

When Archbishop Trolle was defeated by Sten Sture, Sweden was put under the ban of the Pope, and Christian II. was named executor of the sentence. This was now used as an excuse for his perfidy. He maintained that he had taken an oath as King of Denmark, but as executor of the Papal ban he was not bound to spare those against whom the sentence of the Church was pronounced.

The vacillating policy of the King in favouring the reform movement at one time and the Roman Catholics at another, to serve political ends, estranged both parties. His reforms embittered the aristocracy, both spiritual and temporal, yet did not gain him favour with the masses. A revolution took place in 1523, by which the crown was offered to the King's uncle, Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, and was accepted by him.

Frederick I. was very different from his nephew. He was circumspect, prudent, considerate, and conciliatory. Brought up in the Lutheran faith, he was a strong Protestant, but he pledged himself not to suppress the Roman Catholic faith. The pledge he kept good, but he spared no effort to give facility to Protestant preachers and teachers to proclaim the Lutheran doctrine. The most famous of these preachers was John Fausen, often called the Reformer of Denmark. Like Luther, he was for some time a monk. The writings of the German Reformer awakened his interest in Protestantism. In spite of difficulties, he found his way to Wittenberg, drank the Lutheran doctrine at the fountain head, returned to his own country, and was received back into the monastery of his early training. His beautiful life and Gospel teaching began to tell upon the inmates of the monastery. This brought him into trouble, and resulted in his expulsion. When his views became fully known, he was bitterly persecuted, and confined in another monastery; but through the iron gratings of his cell he so preached and commended Christ that a large number of monks were converted to the Protestant faith. He was again expelled. At this time, liberty of preaching publicly was granted by the King to Protestants, and John Fausen became at once the centre of attraction at Copenhagen. By his earnestness and eloquence, he influenced the crowds and spread the doctrines of the Reformation far and wide. John Fausen was to the capital of Denmark what Zwingli was to Zurich.

Another influence that tended powerfully to advance the Reformation in Denmark was the revival of Church song. The part that Rome assigns to her people in public worship is silence. Their voices are never heard in the public worship of God. If hymns are sung, they are sung by the church choir in a dead language. The Reformation broke the long silence that had reigned in Christendom. This was the

case as much in Denmark as in Germany. Several of the hymns of Luther were translated into the language of the people by Nicolaus Martin and John Spaude Mager. This was the first hymnbook of the reformed Church in Denmark.

In 1528, with the permission and favour of the King, the Psalms of David were published in metre, with notes explaining them in the Protestant sense. The Psalms soon displaced the old ballads. They were sung in the castles of the nobles as well as in all the assemblies of the Protestants. The Psalms of David may be said to have opened the gates of Malmore, which was the first of all the cities of Denmark to receive the Gospel.

At a diet of Oudensie, in 1527, Episcopal jurisdiction was restricted by law; universal religious toleration was proclaimed; and priests were at liberty to marry and leave their convents.

In 1530, John Fausen submitted the first Protestant confession of faith, which was accepted. Although some difficulties arose upon the death of Frederick I., and an attempt made to place John, the second son, who was an ardent Roman Catholic, on the throne proved a failure, yet the Reformation was now completely established in Denmark, not with violence, but by a progress which was gradual but irresistible. The Catholic Church was reduced to ruins, and the supremacy which she had shared with the Pope was overthrown.

The introduction and progress of the Reformation were contemporaneous in Sweden and in Denmark. Amongst the hostages unlawfully carried by Christian II. to Denmark on his first visit to Sweden was a young man of noble blood, good character, manly bearing, attractive manner, and great eloquence. That young man was Gustavus Vasa, the future patriot and reformer of his country, and grandfather of Gustavus Adolphus. Having made good his escape from prison, he succeeded, through great difficulties, in returning

to his native land. When informed of the massacre of Stockholm, in which his father and brother-in-law were slain, and of the imprisonment in Denmark of his mother and sisters, his sorrow and indignation knew no bounds, and he determined to attempt to rid his country of the yoke of the Danes. Being an outlaw, with a price upon his head, he wandered about in disguise as a labouring peasant in the northern parts of the district of Dalecarlia. He was a splendid specimen of a powerful Northman, singularly endowed by nature. In his early youth, his imposing presence and the charm of his manner made a great impression upon all with whom he came in contact. Similar stories are told of him to those of King Alfred when in like situations: how he gave vent to his grief in old national songs, discovered the people's opinion by cunning questions, and tried to gain them by burning words. He wandered about from farm to farm, here and there, making himself known and gaining adherents everywhere.

With a body of powerful peasants, who bore implacable hatred to the Danes, he gained, with tremendous exertion, his first victory, and by a succession of brilliant victories, drove the Danes out of the country. He was elected Regent in 1521, and proclaimed King in 1523. Soon after, he entered Stockholm as ruler of the country, in the midst of the rejoicing of the people.

Gustavus Vasa was instructed in the reformed doctrine during his banishment, and after he became King was confirmed in it by Protestant divines whom he gathered round him. He was resolved that instruction not authority should be the only instrument employed for the conversion of his subjects. Two young brothers, Olaf and Laurence Paterson (their father was a smith in Orebro), were his best supporters in carrying out this resolution. Olaf, who studied at Wittenberg, is said to have been in the crowd around the door of the Castle Church when Luther nailed his Theses

to it. Both brothers were eminent for their piety and theological attainments. Olaf was made preacher of the great cathedral in Stockholm, and Laurence was appointed to the chair of theology in Upsala. These two brothers translated the Old and New Testaments into the Swedish language. The people read the pure Word of God in their mother tongue. This of all others was the most potent influence towards the spread of the Reformation.

The Popish clergy appealed to the King to suppress the translation, declaring it to be inaccurate and dangerous, and pledging themselves to publish a better. The King gave them full permission to publish their proposed new translation, but refused to recall that published by the Patersons. Laurence Anderson of Stengräs was associated with these two brothers. The three preached and wrote against saint images, indulgences, monkish life, and auricular confession. Public disputations were held between the Protestant teachers and the Romish priests, with the result of largely strengthening the cause of the Reformation and exposing the utter ignorance of the priesthood of the Word of God, which the King made the final standard of appeal. These discussions show clearly that the Reformation movement in Sweden was carried by many men of mind and grip; not merely by a few outstanding men, as was the case in Germany and Switzerland.

There appears to be every reason to believe that the King was a religious man, but he had other motives in his zeal for the Reformation. He wished money to enable him to govern. Two-thirds of the money was in the hands of the Church, and the rest in the hands of the nobles. Every landlord was almost an independent sovereign. The peasants were everywhere oppressed, and the trade of the country was mostly in the hands of Denmark. The nobles and the clergy claimed exemption from taxation, and the peasants could not endure further burdens. The expenditure of the king-

dom was double its income, and an immense war debt had to be paid. Unless, therefore, the wealth of the Church could be made available, there was no possibility for a king to reign. The King did all he could to give publicity to the strife between the old and the new doctrines. When the clergy complained, he answered, "If there were abuses, they ought to be reformed." While he concealed his convictions on many of the questions discussed between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, he always declared the right of the State to Church property.

In June, 1527, a Diet was convoked at Westeras, at which, beside the clergy and nobles, representatives of the citizens and peasant class appeared for the first time. Both classes were ready to support the King. At this Diet the King made known his intention to overthrow the supremacy of the clergy, to take possession of Church property, and, if need be, to share it partly with the nobles. These proposals found no favour. The nobles were displeased and the clergy were turbulent and fierce, and declared that in the matter of Church property they would yield only to force.

The King addressed the assembly. He was possessed not only of great courage, but also of burning eloquence that could move the crowds. He said he wished to make a final experiment whether it was possible to reign there as King. He considered that the experiment so far had failed. Rain and sunshine, famine and pestilence were laid to his charge, and every priest was allowed to sit in judgment upon him. Yet it was not from ambitious motives he had ascended the throne, but that he might serve Sweden. He sacrificed his patrimony to the public good and was repaid with ingratitude. Sweden was not yet ready for a King. With a voice almost choked with tears he said, "I must lay down the crown." With these words he left the astonished assembly, which immediately broke up in confusion. The scene and division that followed showed what Sweden could do without

a King. A large party of the nobles came round to the opinion that the clergy must make sacrifice, while the peasants and the citizens, who had everything to gain, favoured the proposal.

In three days, the King was asked to appear again before the Diet, when all the concessions he wanted were made. The bishops declared that they were willing to be as rich and as poor as the King commanded. The Church property was now to be regarded as the possession of the King. The nobles were justified in taking possession of their estates, which had become Church property during the previous hundred years. Between thirteen and fourteen thousand estates, farms, and lands reverted to lay possession. The preaching of the Lutheran doctrine was to be permitted within the kingdom. With the decrees of this Diet, the historical greatness of Sweden began, and steadily increased up to the time of the misfortunes and blunders of Charles XII.

In 1529, the Reformation of Sweden was formally completed. At the Diet of Arsicia, steps were taken to give the Church a constitution and worship in more exact conformity with the Word of God. To this Diet came lay members as well as the clergy. Laurence Anderson, Chancellor and representative of the King, presided over the Diet, and along with him Olaf Paterson, pastor of Stockholm.

The Bishop and Paterson avowed it to be the great end of their office to preach the pure Word of God. The bishops were to exercise vigilant inspection over all the clergy. They were to see that the Scriptures were read daily and purely expounded; that in all schools there were pure editions of the Bible; that proper care be taken to train efficient preachers of the Word of God; and that learned men be provided for the cities.

For the guidance of the clergy, a collection of sermons

was published, to which was added a translation of Luther's catechism. A Liturgy was also provided, in which great care was taken to exclude everything that could be held to imply that the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice, or that a sacrificial character belonged to the clergy. The confession of the Swedish Church was simply but thoroughly Protestant.

It was felt that the people were yet too weak to stand alone, and several of the old ceremonies were therefore retained, but with an explanation—such ceremonies as the use of holy water at the church, images of saints, consecrated candles, extreme unction, bell-ringing, not to frighten demons but to gather the people. Those who tolerated the old superstition in the reformed worship of Sweden had no doubt acted from sincere motives, but their action has been the weakness of that Church to the present day.

The Diets of Orebro, 1540, and Westeras, 1544, settled the succession of the Swedish crown on the house of Gustavus Vasa, and abolished the elective monarchy. The Reformation made astonishing progress. Although it had begun with only a small sect, it was now dominant in the nation. For the first time since there had been a kingdom of Sweden, the country now knew what it was to have a monarchial government of the modern stamp. She enjoyed for the first time conscientious administration of the laws, legal equality, and domestic peace and security.

Gustavus Vasa I. had now the happiness of seeing the reformed faith established and flourishing within his dominions. His reign was prolonged after this for thirty years, and during all that time he never ceased to watch over the interest of Protestantism, taking care that his kingdom should be well supplied with learned bishops and diligent pastors.

In 1531, Laurence Paterson was promoted to the archbishopric of Upsala, the first see in Sweden, which he filled

till his death in 1570. The country soon became very flourishing, and yielded plenteously great men—the best of all fruit. The pious and patriotic King took part in the great events of his age. He died in 1560. But the spirit he had raised in Sweden lived after him, and the attempts of some of his immediate successors to undo what their great ancestor had done, and lead back the nation into Popish darkness, was firmly resisted by the nobles. The tomb of the great patriot and reformer is to be seen in the Cathedral of Upsala. An inscription informs us that he was born in 1490 and died in the seventieth year of his age and in the fortieth of his glorious reign. Gustavus Vasa I. was equally great as warrior, legislator, politician, and reformer. His great qualities were set off by a graceful person and still further heightened by a commanding eloquence. Men such as he transmit to posterity an example of heroic and pious deeds most worthy of admiration and emulation not only by kings and priests, but by all classes and conditions of men. To live not for self, but for the benefit of others is the highest ideal of life.

CHAPTER XXV.

John Calvin.

Geneva is inseparably associated with the undying name of one of our greatest Protestant reformers; not only or merely because of the benefits, civil and religious, he conferred upon that city, but because through John Calvin, Geneva became the centre of Reformation influences that made themselves most powerfully felt throughout the Continent of Europe.

Let us now carry ourselves back to the year 1530. At that time Charles V. was all-powerful in Germany, Francis I. in France, Henry VIII. in England, and Clement VII., a connection of the House of Medici, and Leo X. occupied the Papal chair. The redoubtable Luther had succeeded in establishing the Reformation in Germany, and Zwingli had fallen on the field of Cappel.

The Pope and the powers were now at variance, now engaged in intrigue. There were troubles in the Church and in the State. Spain was reeking with the blood of the Protestant martyrs, and France was beginning to follow her example. The spirit of absolutism and tyranny of the crowned heads of Europe could not fail to evoke a spirit of reaction in Church and State. Geneva shared largely in that reaction, but it began earlier there than in other places. Its roots are traceable as far back as the twelfth century. Geneva was then the seat of a bishop, who was also a civil ruler; but the Duke of Saxony claimed the town too, and so endless quarrels ensued. By the fifteenth century, the townsmen secured a certain measure of self-government, independent of bishop and duke, although the

Pope combined the two into one to serve his own ends. The Liberals, the advanced party, were nicknamed Eidgenossen, *i.e.*, confederates. This name is interesting, because from it, probably, is derived the name of the great French Protestant party—the Huguenots.

The inhabitants of Geneva loved liberty, but their liberty grew into license. Along with the Italian learning of the Renaissance there flooded into the town pagan licentiousness. The rich and the poor, the Church and the State were alike contaminated. The bishop's palace set the worst example, and was followed by clergy and laity. The convent of the Franciscan nuns alone endeavoured to preserve purity of life. "The city was full of scepticism, licentiousness, superstition. Papal indulgences sold well in Geneva." Such was the state of matters in the early decades of the sixteenth century in this famous little town, with its population of less than twenty thousand. A spirit of liberty, freedom, and toleration in civil matters may accompany a spirit of bigotry, narrowness, and persecution in religious matters. It was so at this time in Geneva.

In 1532, William Farel, a young Frenchman, who preached amongst them with great power the reformed doctrine, the very essence of which is liberty, was persecuted and banished the city. The strong canton of Berne, however, being Protestant, prevailed with the Genevese Council to take him back. A disputation was arranged by Farel and the Town Council with the representatives of the Romish Church, to discuss the leading points of theology and morals. In this theological tournament, the young French reformer carried the palm. The crowd became excited, rushed to the churches, dragged down the images, tore the vestments, and committed great violence. Soon after, the Council declared that Roman Catholicism was abolished, and demanded that all the citizens should adopt the reformed religion.

A panic conversion of such description could not be regarded by any sane man as safe or sound. Farel's preaching, no doubt, had good results, but none knew better than he that the Gospel never gains the heart by forced means. The morals of the city were as bad as ever, and the people were growing daily more difficult to restrain. William Farel was at his wits' end. Just at this juncture, one day, towards the end of August, 1536, a stranger presented himself at the gates of Geneva. He came only to rest for the night, and to depart on the morrow. He was recognised by an old friend, who hurriedly went and told William Farel that John Calvin was in the town. He received with joy the news that the young reformer and scholar, the author of the *Institutes*, was at their gates. He hastened to meet him, set before him the difficulties and dangers of the Protestant cause in their midst, and entreated him to devote himself to God's work along with him. Calvin at first declared he wanted more time for personal improvement. "I tell you," said Farel in reply to this excuse, "in the name of Almighty God that if you will not devote yourself with us to this work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you as one not seeking Christ so much as himself." Startled by this plain speaking, and feeling as if God laid His hands upon him to detain him, Calvin agreed to remain. He gave his hand to Farel, and in doing so gave himself to Geneva.

The cause of liberty and of Protestantism was at stake, not only in French Switzerland and the neighbouring cantons, but also in all Germany. There was a reaction from Protestant enthusiasm in almost all the countries whither the Reformation had penetrated. The unanimity and combined effort that secured its success did not now exist to the same extent. There was a division in the camp. The two great leaders, Luther and Zwingli, had failed to see eye to eye after repeated efforts, and their followers were not united. There were springing up numberless sects, like

the Anabaptists, whose object was to break up the churches of the Reformation. The Church was assailed from within; combined forces from without concentrated against her in Germany, France, and even England. Zwingli was dead. Luther and Melancthon would in a few years have finished their course. There never was a time when a great man was more urgently needed—a man, perhaps, different from preceding reformers, a man who would combine in himself their qualities, and have in addition the fitness adequately to meet new circumstances and combat new forces. The time required such a man, and in the person of John Calvin that man appeared ready for the work. God never leaves himself without a witness. Whenever a great crisis arises, whenever a great and difficult work is to be accomplished, God has the right man ready for it.

From his earliest days, John Calvin was, in the course of providence, being prepared for his work. He was born in 1509 in Noyon, Picardy. His father's position as fiscal agent in the township of Noyon, and secretary of the diocese, as well as the esteem in which he was held by the nobility, was a source of temporal advantage to his son. His mother, Jane le Grave, was a native of Cambray, and is reported to have been beautiful and deeply religious. John was one of six children, four sons and two daughters. One of his sisters, Mary, followed his faith and fortunes, and is occasionally mentioned in his letters. Of his brothers, the eldest was an ecclesiastic, the fourth died young, and the third, also an ecclesiastic, ultimately joined the reformer in Geneva.

John Calvin was only eight years old when Luther posted his Theses. Luther was twenty-six years his senior, Zwingli twenty-five, John Knox four. He was of a delicate constitution, possessed of wonderful aptitude for learning, and punctual as a clock to his devotions. These "certain vital signs," as Milton says of himself in another relation,

destined him for the Church. A noble family in his parish took an interest in the precocious boy; and in their stately mansion he shared alike the educational, moral, and social advantages of their home circle. Through the influence of his father with the bishop, his master and superior, the boy of twelve obtained an appointment to a chaplaincy in the neighbourhood. Thus John Calvin began to do for himself at an early age. For two years he is supposed to have discharged the duties of his appointment with unusual vigour, though yet but a child. A terrible pestilence visited Noyon, on account of which, and by direction of his father, John Calvin quitted his parish and his home, and went to prosecute his studies in the University of Paris.

Under the teaching of a most famous scholar, Mathurin Cordier, who soon became his personal friend, the young student threw himself heart and soul into his studies, and speedily shot ahead of all his fellows, over whom he exercised a most wonderful influence, not only by his intellectual power, but very specially because of the moral tone of his character. He took no part in the follies and amusements of his fellow students.

Impressed with horror at sin, he occasionally censured irregularities sharply, and even with some degree of bitterness. Accordingly, a certain canon assures us that by them he was surnamed the "Accusative." Even then the piercing eye of the student of sixteen inspired his comrades with more respect than the black gowns of their teachers; and this child of Picardy, of little stature and timid air, who came daily to take his seat on the benches of the college of La Marche, was even now, without thinking of it, by the gravity of his speech and deportment, a master and reformer.

Amongst the students that at this time studied along with Calvin was one Olivetan, his cousin. The two frequently conversed on religious subjects: what more likely to interest them than the Reformation, all the more that its doctrines

were now beginning to be diffused throughout France? Twelve years had elapsed since Luther published his Theses against indulgences—twelve years of intense excitement, not in Germany alone, but in all adjacent kingdoms. In France there had not been as yet any open revolt against the Church of Rome, but multitudes were lending an ear to the reformed doctrines, and not a few were rejoicing in having embraced them. The Reformation filled the air of Paris, and Calvin and his cousin could not help breathing it. Olivetan was indeed at this time, to all intents and purposes, a Protestant. He was a great scholar also, and afterwards translated the New Testament into the vernacular of his country.

"There are but two classes of religions in the world," said Olivetan to Calvin. "The one class of religion is that which men have invented, in all which man can save himself by ceremonies and good works. The other is that one religion which is revealed in the Bible, and which teaches salvation solely from the free grace of God." "I will have none of your doctrines," Calvin sharply replied. "Think you I have lived in error all my days?" The arrow had gone deeper than he was willing to admit, and scarce had the door been closed behind his cousin ere Calvin, bursting into tears, fell upon his knees and gave vent in prayer to the doubts and anxieties that agitated him.

The disciples of Protestantism soon began to be persecuted in Paris. One day, as Calvin was passing by the place of public prosecution and martyrdom, he found a great crowd of priests, soldiers, and citizens gathered round a stake at which a disciple of the new doctrine was yielding up his life. He stood till the fire had done its work, and there remained but a stake, an iron collar and chain, and a heap of ashes as the only memorials of the tragedy he had now witnessed. Retracing his steps, with a sad heart, he whispered to himself, "These men have a peace which I do not possess. They endure the fire with a rare courage. I

will take my cousin's advice and search the Bible, if haply I may find that new way of which he speaks, and which these men who go so bravely through the fire seem to have found." He searched the Scriptures, which his Church forbade him to read, but the more he read the greater his sins appeared, and the more vile himself. At last he saw dimly and afar off what seemed to be a cross, and one hanging upon it, and his form was like unto the Son of God. He looked again, and now his vision was clearer. He could see the inscription over the head of the sufferer, "He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed." Calvin describes himself as having striven in vain to obtain inward peace by the methods set forth by the teaching of the Church. The more he looked inward or upward to God, the more did his conscience torment him. Only one haven of salvation is there for our souls, he at last discovered, and that is the compassion of God, which is offered us in Christ. Calvin, like Luther, found rest for his soul through faith in Jesus Christ. Justification by faith became the foundation and power of his hope.

An earnest and honest student of the Bible cannot long look with favour upon the Church of Rome. Nor could Calvin, now that the Bible had become his study, regard himself henceforth as preparing for her priesthood; and so resolving to devote himself to the profession of law, he left Paris for Orleans, and placed himself under the tuition of the most famous lawyer of his day, Pierre de l' Etoile. The reformed doctrines he now fully embraced, and indeed began to preach them in the surrounding villages with great acceptance. After his father's death in 1531, he returned to Paris, and there took part in the Protestant meetings. He was soon regarded as a leader, and his counsel was much sought after. When a new Lord Rector of the University

of Paris was about to give his inaugural address, Calvin, knowing that he favoured the Reformation, besought him to introduce the ideas of the Reformation into his address. It was a grand opportunity, thought Calvin, but his friend, Nicholas Cop—for such was his name—felt unequal to the task of composing such an address. It was formally agreed that Calvin should write and Cop should read it.

The address was read before a learned and brilliant audience, Calvin sitting on one of the benches with the air of one that had dropped in by the way. A profound impression and excitement was produced. The assembly arose, and then the storm burst. Cop was obliged to flee the city. Calvin was sitting quietly in his room when some of his comrades rushed in, announcing that the officer of State was about to seize him, and urging him to flee. Already the footsteps of the law official were heard in the corridor. Some of Calvin's companions went out to meet him, and, if possible, to detain him by conversation, while others tied together the sheets of the bed, and Calvin, laying hold of them, let himself down from the window, and so escaped.

After spending six months of quiet at Angouleme till the storm blew over, Calvin resorted to Poictiers, famous for the victory of the Black Prince over the armies of France, and now about to be famous in a battle that was destined to change the face of the world. Poictiers was noted for its University and learned men of all classes. From amongst these Calvin soon gathered a congregation that began the evangelization of France in a systematic form. In the neighbourhood of this town there was a famous cave called that of "the Benedict," ever since still more famous as "Calvin's Grotto." In this cave the reformed congregation met from time to time, and here, so far as the light of history serves to show, the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time in France after the Protestant fashion. In the absence of cathedral grandeur and princely pomp—the word

expounded and prayer offered—Calvin handed round the bread and cup, of which all partook, even as in the upper room in Jerusalem sixteen centuries before. Often since have the children of the Reformation assembled in the dens and caves, in the forests, wildernesses, and mountains of France to sing their psalms and celebrate their worship.

While the voice of Calvin was raised to preach the Gospel, which alone he believed could produce a true Reformation, his brain was actively engaged and his pen constantly wielded in the prosecution of his studies. In the town of Basle, on the borders of Germany and Switzerland, he found a quiet retreat favourable to meditation, and fitted to help him to reflect upon the past and draw out his plans for the future. Conveyed to him in this solitude were heart-rending tidings of the persecuted Protestants. His soul was grieved, he could not stay the arm of the King, but he could use his pen to vindicate his suffering brethren, and this he could best do by vindicating the doctrine they professed. The task he set before him was sublime and onerous; he would make it plain that the faith for which men were branded for heresy was no cunningly-devised system of man, but the old Gospel, and that so far from being an enemy of the King and a subverter of law, it was the very salt of the earth—a bulwark to the throne and a protection to the land.

This was what Calvin accomplished in his *Christian Institutes*. This work, though produced when the author was only twenty-three years of age, comprises a complete outline of the theological system which has since borne his name. It may be doubted if the history of literature presents us with another instance of a book written at so early an age which has exercised such a prodigious influence over the opinions and practices both of contemporaries and posterity.

There was no man that the Papal chair dreaded more than Calvin, and no book more than the *Institutes*, for that book

is but an exposition of the Apostle's Creed, which is at the foundation of the Roman Catholic doctrines. Calvin in his teaching did not think that he was helping to found a new Church, or that he was making a new creed or writing a new theology. He did not believe that Protestants were men who held new opinions never before heard of. The theology of the Reformation was the old theology of the Church of Christ. "The Reformation," the *Institutes* said, "does not invent new opinions; it only strips off the falsehood and makes plain the old truths."

Calvin was twenty-seven years of age and Farel forty-seven when they began to work together in Geneva, but in spite of this difference of age, the two reformers became strongly attached to each other. "We had one heart and one soul," said Calvin. Within three months a brief but comprehensive creed was compiled, setting forth the leading doctrines of the Christian faith. The Genevans received the creed with uplifted hands, but Calvin felt that they did not bend their hearts. He had no trust in blind obedience. He discovered what Farel knew long before: that what Geneva needed was a reformation of morals. The city was grossly licentious. The rulers of the city had for several generations enforced stringent laws against the immoralities of the people. The books of the Council shewed entries for punishment of offences against such laws long before Calvin settled there. Calvin did not begin, did not expect to make people moral by strict State laws. He had very clear views about Church discipline, and the rights of the Christian community to rule itself, and particularly the right of those in authority in the Church to debar from Church privileges those who were unworthy. Accordingly, Calvin and his co-adjutor resolved to debar from the Communion table unworthy communicants. This the magistrates resented. At Easter, 1538, Farel and Calvin preached to excited and armed crowds, but refused to administer the Lord's Supper.

The infuriated opponents of the reformers rushed with drawn swords towards the Communion table. Calvin calmly and solemnly stood with his hands over the bread, and said, "It must be through my body that these elements can be touched." This overawed the assembly and arrested the tumult. In thus acting, the reformer was but carrying out the principle for which he always laboured, "that holy things are not to be given to the unholy." For standing true to this principle, Calvin nearly lost his life on more occasions than one. On the day following this scene, he and his fellow-labourer, Farel, were expelled from the city. After three years' absence, however, he returned again. During this comparatively quiet time, Calvin formed an intimate friendship with Melancthon and other reformers, and took to himself a wife, Idelethe de Bure, the widow of John Atorder. "She was a pious and cultivated lady," says Beza. She bore three children, all of whom died young. Calvin's letters which he wrote to intimate friends about her death and the deaths of his children reveal the warm human heart which beat within the stern courteous Frenchman.

Geneva could not do without Calvin. Violent factions within and without the city endangered its very existence, not only as a city of law and order, but especially as a Protestant community. With the urgent request to return he complied, and was welcomed with great enthusiasm. For twenty years he ruled Geneva as a Roman dictator or a Hildebrand. He lived a life of incessant activity, in spite of constant illness. He preached and lectured constantly. He wrote commentaries on all the books of the Bible, and carried on immense correspondence. In discipline he was no doubt severe, too severe for modern ideas; but the times required such severity. The Sabbath was most rigorously observed. There was a sermon at four o'clock in the morning for the convenience of servants. Baptisms took place only

in the church at the hours of public worship. All marriages were in public. Games of chance, oaths, blasphemies, dances, and licentious songs were forbidden by the magistrates. All persons were enjoined by the same to attend the sermons, and to retire to their homes at nine o'clock at night. Opposition to these doctrines and deviating from the practice thus sanctioned were regarded as penal offences. A hair-dresser for arranging a bride's hair in an unusual manner was imprisoned for two days, and the mother, with two female friends, who aided in the process, suffered the same penalty. Parental authority was enforced with cruel severity. Witchcraft was zealously sought out. Within sixty years no fewer than 160 were put to death for this crime. To laugh during sermon was punished with three days' imprisonment, and the necessity of publicly asking pardon. Some of these things, Calvin said, were not wrong in themselves, but they had been so abused that there was no other course than to prohibit them altogether. Hard and unreasonable as some of these restrictions were, they proved most effective. The city which had been one of the most frivolous and licentious in Europe became the cradle of Puritanism, French, Dutch, English, and Scottish. Dances and masquerades were unknown. The taverns and the theatres were empty, and the churches and lecture rooms were crowded.

During the closing years of his life, Calvin had the satisfaction of seeing Geneva delivered from all factions, and the educational institution he had planted in a flourishing condition. He, doubtless, had many enemies. In doctrine and otherwise his teaching was strenuously opposed by a notable scholar of the name of Servetus. Servetus' history cannot be given here; suffice it to say that his denial of the Trinity put him, to the mind of Protestant and Roman Catholic, in the list of the greatest heretics, who, according to the law of the Genevan Church and the spirit of the age,

should be put to death. This Servetus intruded himself upon Geneva, though Calvin warned him not to come to that city. He was burned at the stake by Calvin's consent. Much has been said in denunciation of Calvin because of this one pile of martyrdom, while it is forgotten that the same century witnessed some thirty or forty thousand fires kindled by the Church of Rome for the burning of Protestants; but we by no means plead the latter as a vindication of the former. We deplore, we condemn this one pile. It was a violation of the first principle of Protestantism. But when we deplore the spirit of the age and the rashness of Calvin in allowing this one stake to be planted by Protestant hands, we surely are bound to reflect with profound gratitude on the thousands of stakes which the teaching of Calvin prevented being set up.

The ecclesiastical ordinances of the Genevan Church were remarkable. The teachers included all the professors in the University and the school masters. The elders exercised discipline. They were not, however, appointed by the people, but by the Council. These elders, along with the pastors, composed what was known as the Consistory, which was the executive and legislative Council of the Church. This Council met weekly, and took account of the morals of the people. They were not allowed to inflict punishment, but merely to report to the civil authorities, of which body they themselves were members. As thus all the elders were chosen by the Council and had to be members of the Council, the result was that, in the capacity of elders they received information, and in the capacity of civil magistrates they punished offences. It would thus appear that the ecclesiastical and the civil were largely combined in one body. In the *Institutes*, however, the standard work of Calvin on Church ordinances and discipline, he declares that there must be no confusion between the civil and the ecclesiastical, that the two jurisdictions must be kept completely apart. Calvin

was doubtless compelled by circumstances to adopt in Geneva a method of Church government different from that which he lays down in the *Institutes*. This remarkable book was the great work of his life. As a literary production, apart altogether from its theological merit, it exerted an extraordinary influence over the French language. As Luther is said to have created the German language, to Calvin the French language owes its purest and finest style.

Towards the end of his twenty years in Geneva, ague and excessive work told severely upon the health of the great reformer. On the 2nd of April, 1564, he was carried to church for the last time. He remained during the whole sermon, preached by Beza, who was destined to be his successor, and received the sacrament. He even joined the congregation, though with a trembling voice, in the singing of the last hymn, "Lord, let thy servant depart in peace." And when he was carried out, his face lighted up with Christian joy. Calvin and his congregation sang a hymn at the close of a Communion service. Calvin's congregation always sang hymns.

A few days after this Communion, Calvin called the magistrates and pastors of Geneva to his bedside. He thanked them for their kindness, and craved their forgiveness for outbreakings of anger on his part, which they had treated with so much forbearance. Amongst those who visited him on his death-bed was his old fellow-labourer, Farel, who, having walked a long distance, entered his room covered with dust and burdened with the infirmities of eighty years. It was but meet that the man who had met him at the gate of Geneva when first he entered it nearly thirty years before should stand beside him when now about to take his final departure. This time, however, Farel could not stop him. Beza, who was summoned to his bedside, was just in time to see him expire, and thus says he: "On this day, with the setting sun, the brightest light in the

Church of God on earth was taken back to heaven!" The event was chronicled in the records of the time: "This day Calvin went to God, Saturday, 27th May, 1564."

Calvin was a devoted student of the Bible, and on its Scriptures he founded his theology. He neither took up a theological system from tradition, and supported it by proofs from Scripture, nor did he conceive a system and then seek a foundation for it in the Bible, but he evolved his doctrines from the Scriptures, carefully and prayerfully studied. The doctrine that gives character and colour to Calvin's system is that of the sovereignty of God, and His absolute predestination of all events; in particular, of the final destinies of men, Calvin maintained the doctrine of predestination, because it appeared to him founded and taught in Scripture. But he did not teach it as a bar in the way of any sinner of mankind when seeking his way to God, or as a doctrine that could make the search of eternal life hopeless to any; but as a ground of security to all who have accepted God's offers, and of thanksgivings to Him who draws the sinner to himself, and enables him to receive the salvation which otherwise he would have neither sought nor found.

Is not the result of a religion or creed the best test of its nature, good or bad? If so, then Calvinism is surrounded by an array of witnesses that speak in its favour. The famous biographer of Carlyle, James Anthony Froude, takes up the defence of Calvinism, and says that Calvin's teaching is that of Paul, and the only theological system that seems to square with facts in the nature of things. It is refreshing in these days, when the would-be learned would cast stones at the time-honoured, God-glorifying veteran of the Reformation, to hear a man of Mr. Froude's literary ability and status as a scholar—a man tied to no creed or doctrine—bearing testimony in favour of Calvinism as a system. He asks the question, "How is it, if Calvinism is the hard and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment would

declare it to be, that it is possessed of such singular attractions for some of the greatest that ever lived? How can it, as some say, be fatal to morality, when its very first work goes to obliterate the distinction between sin and crime, and make the moral law the rule of life for States as well as persons? It is enough to mention the names of William the Silent, Luther, John Knox, Andrew Melville, Regent Moray, Cromwell, and John Bunyan. These men possessed all the qualities which give nobility and grandeur to human nature. They were men whose lives were as upright as their intellect was commanding, and yet they believed in and taught Calvinism. But why plead in any wise for Calvin or Calvinism? Never since the beginning of Christianity has any man or system produced such immense heavenly and heroic fruits. That great mountain has sheltered many a valley. That deep digging and ploughing has made fruitful many a barren plain. Nearly all the heroisms, most of the liberties, much of the highest wisdom and character of these three hundred years can be traced back to that lonely man. Let Scotland bear testimony to the noble effect of Calvinism in the various secessions from State tyranny. Let Germany bear testimony; for Rationalism, as a system, is more or less broken by Schleiermacher, who asserts, though with many defects, the doctrines of Calvin. Let America, India, and Africa, and the far-off islands of the sea bear testimony; for the Pilgrim Fathers carried Calvinism with them, and by its principles their children are enabled with God's blessing to rescue multitudes from heathenism, multitudes who bear abundant God-glorifying fruit in homes of purity and churches of God."

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Huguenots; or, The Covenanters of France.

France, the fatherland of John Calvin, one of the foremost of our Protestant reformers, was stained more than any other country with the blood of the Christian martyrs. When Geneva was becoming the centre of a powerful reforming influence, through the teaching and iron discipline of Calvin, France was being rent and torn in pieces by political factions and Papal intrigue, whose special aim and combined effort were directed towards the extermination of the reformed faith. A better and a more enlightened policy towards the Reformation was expected of the French Church by not a few. More than any section of the Romish Church, she distinguished herself during the preceding century by a strenuous opposition to Papal supremacy. She was most zealous in resisting the influence of the Pope, more, however, on the ground of government than of doctrine. But the Church that burned John Huss could not well be expected to show much toleration to his successors.

The roots of the Reformation in France reached to a period far before the birth of Calvin. They are indeed traceable to the Albigenses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A powerful reaction against the immorality, sloth, and ignorance that characterized the French Church in the fifteenth century, and the singularly powerful awakening of learning through Erasmus and other great scholars of his class, originated and largely promoted the Protestantism of France.

In the little town of Meaux, about twenty-five miles distant from Paris, boasting in modern days of a population of over ten thousand, of a college, libraries, and factories, began the earliest reforming preaching. The bishop of Meaux, William Briçonnet, in his laudable effort to reform his diocese, invited to his aid the great scholar, James Lefêvre, and his ardent pupil, William Farel—afterwards John Calvin's colleague—whose theology and reforming efforts were making Paris too uncomfortable for them.

On the 30th of October, 1532, the four Gospels were published in French in Meaux, and two years after, the whole New Testament. The Scriptures were circulated amongst the people and regularly read. The artizans of Meaux conversed about the Bible as they worked, and at meal hours it was read in the workshops. The people of town and country had the Gospel preached amongst them; the bishop and his priests preached it from the pulpits. The effects were remarkable. "No better results could there be," says the historian, "than that the topers in the wine shops were becoming fewer and the friars returned from their excursions with empty sacks." This was too much for the Franciscan priesthood to endure, and persecution was instituted against the reformers. Bishop Briçonnet, failing in courage to stand by the reformed faith, recanted. Lefêvre, Farel, and Roussel, another great scholar and teacher, fled, and many were cast into prison. One of these, a working man of the name of Denis, was visited in his cell by Briçonnet, his former bishop, who advised him to recant. Denis, fixing his eyes upon the man who once preached to him the very Gospel which he now exhorted him to abjure, said solemnly, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him shall I also deny before my Father who is in Heaven." The bishop reeled backward, and staggered out of the dungeon. Denis passed from the cell to the stake. His was the first stake in the capital of France, or indeed within the

ancient limits of the kingdom. It was planted in the Place de Grève. In this Place de Grève were the first martyrs of the Reformation burned.

The Protestants were bound, imprisoned, and burned, but the Word of God was not bound. From the printing press of Geneva were issued copies of the Scriptures and Reformation pamphlets and tracts, that were scattered privately all over France. Merchants gave them with their goods in the cities, packmen disposed of them along with their articles of trade in the country and outlying districts. Fifty of the Psalms of David were translated by the poet Meros, of whom it is said that "he never looked grave but in prison." Many of these psalms were at first sung to the airs of popular ballads, but afterwards, through the interposition of Calvin, to graver tunes, such as Old Hundred, the origin of which is traceable to that period. No wonder though in after years the royal authority indicated its intention to destroy the nest of Geneva, whose heretical brood, like locusts, were overrunning and destroying the country.

Francis I., to whom Calvin dedicated his famous *Institutes,* was expected by many to favour the Reformation. He welcomed the revival of learning. He sheltered Lefèvre while that scholar resided at Paris. He prided himself on his correspondence with Erasmus and Budæus. He founded chairs of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin oratory. Francis had no sympathy with the sloth and ignorance of the priesthood; he indeed protected the early reformers, and even assisted them. But neither had he any sympathy with the real spiritual earnestness of the Reformation, and his political necessities soon prevailed over his love of learning. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which asserted the liberties of the national Church, regarded the Pope as subject to œcumenical councils, and declared that high ecclesiastical offices were by election and not by Papal nomination, was replaced by Francis by a Concordat (1516) which, while it

secured for the Pope the emoluments of the Annates (the first year's stipend for every newly filled benefice), put, at the same time, in the King's power the appointment of all the important offices of the Church. This Concordat is the key to the history of the French Reformation. It bound the Government and the Church against it. As the Church of the first three centuries had to fight against the State and the established religion, which was paganism, so the Reformed Church of France had to struggle against the State and the Church, the King and the Pope. When the King required money to promote his wars, he purchased that money from the Church by the blood of his own innocent subjects, martyred for their struggle for liberty of conscience.

Some of the Protestant enthusiasts indulged rather freely in the dissemination of literature in the form of tracts or placards against the Mass and other Roman Catholic rites. Some of these tracts were placed within the King's apartments. The King was furious, and issued edicts for the destruction of the reformers. "Every loyal subject," says one of these edicts, "must denounce the heretics, and employ all means to extirpate them, just as all men are bound to run to help in extinguishing a public conflagration."

Fifty miles above the confluence of the river Durance with the Rhone, there were more than a score of villages, inhabited by a most industrious peasantry of Waldensian origin. These villagers showed sympathy with the reformers of Switzerland and Germany. They furnished money to publish the translation of the Scriptures by Robert Olivetan, corrected by John Calvin, his cousin. The bishops, at the Parliament of Aix, secured the publication of a decree against them. The King, after investigation, ordered the abandonment of this decree, but was afterwards induced to permit it. Twenty-two towns and villages were utterly destroyed. For more than seven weeks the pillage was con-

tinued. The soldiers were glutted with blood and rapine. Four thousand men and women in all were slain, and seven hundred sent to the galleys. This persecution of his industrious and innocent subjects was one of the blackest stains upon the memory of the faithless and fickle King, whose barbarities were perpetrated less from zeal for the tenets of his Church than from a selfish fear lest his prerogative might be impaired.

Francis I. was succeeded by his son, Henry, in 1547, at the age of twenty-eight. Physically he was fully developed; as an athlete he was unequalled. He was accounted the fleetest runner and the most graceful rider in France, but in all that concerned the serious affairs of life and the duties of his elevated position he was a mere child. Consequently, he easily became the tool of his courtiers. No royal family, no royal Court could be more unfavourably disposed to the new faith than Henry II.'s house and Court. His wife was the famous, or rather infamous, Catherine of Medici, the niece of Pope Clement VII. Then there was Diana of Poictiers, a favourite of his father, who swayed both father and son at her pleasure. She enriched herself by the property of the Protestants, whom she induced the King to put to death. The Constable of Montmorency, who was banished from Court by his father, and against whom he was warned, Henry restored and made first Minister of the Crown. Equally noted for his cruelty and piety, his devotions were observed with strictest care whether at home or abroad, in the house or on the field. But he would not infrequently interrupt the ritual of his paternosters with such orders as the emergency demanded or his inclination prompted. "Seize such a man," he would ejaculate in the middle of his prayers. "Hang that one on a tree. Run that fellow through at once with your pikes or shoot him down before my eyes." No wonder though the saying

became a proverb in those days, "Beware of the Constable's paternosters."

There was a notable family of foreign extraction, who had but recently come to reside in France, but who were destined to play a most powerful and a most important part in its history. Claude, the fifth son of the Duke of Lorraine, rose to high eminence at the Court, partly by his marriage to Antoinette of Bourbon, a princess of royal blood, and partly by his own ability. His brother, John, rose to the position of cardinal. The family assumed the name of Guise from the small domain of Guise, which was erected into a Duchy in 1527. The eldest daughter of Claude, Mary of Lorraine, was married to James V. of Scotland, and to them was born Mary Stuart, the famous Queen of Scots. Mary was married to the Dauphin of France, Francis II., a youth of about sixteen. Claude had six sons, of whom in particular, Francis and Charles, played a most active part in connection with Henry and his sons. The reign of Henry was often called the reign of Diana of Poictiers and of the Guises. Henry was less scrupulous than his father in persecuting the heretics. He expressed a desire to see with his own eyes and to examine one of them. A poor tailor was arrested on the charge of working on a Saint's day. To the astonishment of the Court, he answered boldly and respectfully all the theological questions asked him. At last Diana of Poictiers undertook to silence him. "Madam," said the tailor, who knew her character, "let it suffice you to have infected France without desiring to mingle your poison and your filth with so holy and sacred a thing as the true religion of the Lord Jesus Christ." The King ordered him to be burned before his eyes. He posted himself at a window that commanded the whole spectacle. The tailor fixed his gaze upon him, even while the flames were rising about him. The spectacle haunted

the King for days and nights thereafter. After twelve years of a reign as weak and cruel as his life was immoral, Henry died of a wound received in one of his tournaments.

At the end of thirty years of terrible persecution, the Protestants of France formed themselves into a Church. The first pastor was John le Macon. Him they set apart after the Apostolic manner with fasting and prayer, and although the persecution went on fiercely, congregations continued to multiply. These congregations were formed into presbyteries, and the presbyteries into a synod, and a Confession of Faith and a Book of Discipline were drawn up for the newly constituted French Church. According to the constitution, elders and deacons were elected annually, and sessions elected members for the synod or assembly as well as for the presbytery. Scottish presbyterianism borrowed its constitution more from France than from Geneva. The election of elders and deacons for life, and the usurpation of the exclusive right to send representatives to the General Assembly by the more modern court of the presbytery has taken from Scottish presbyterianism a great deal of the free popular election, which was the strength of the French Church.

The first National Synod of the French Protestants was convened at Paris on the 26th of May, 1559. It was a small assembly. Its sessions were held with the utmost secrecy, but it performed two important services. It gave an authoritative statement of its doctrine, and it established the principle of its form of government. That first meeting of the National Synod of France was held opposite the square where the eyes of the public had been periodically feasted with the sight of human sacrifices offered up in the name of religion. The few ministers that had met in that upper room at the hazard of their lives quietly returned to their congregations in different parts of France. But they had planted the seed of a mighty tree which was destined

to stand the blast of many a tempest. Always baffled by the winds, and bearing the scars of many a conflict with the elements, it stood proudly and firmly upon the rock around which its sturdy roots were bound.

The cause of the reformed faith that was being thus organised was gathering no small amount of encouragement and strength amongst the nobles of the land. At a meeting of the Parliament of Paris, convened by the King, Henry II., for the purpose of discussing how best to protect the national faith and destroy the heretics, several of the judges spoke in favour of a milder policy towards the Protestants.

Anne du Bourg, a nephew of the late Chancellor of France, a learned and eloquent speaker, entreated the King to give his attention to the whole subject as to the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, which ought to be upheld by kings. He warned his hearers that it was a thing of no light importance to condemn to death those who, in the midst of the flames, called on the name of the Saviour of men. This distinguished judge was immediately imprisoned in the Bastille by order of the King. To prevent any attempt to rescue so powerful a noble and subject, he had for a time been shut up in an iron cage. The prison walls often resounded with the joyful psalms and hymns which he sang to the accompaniment of the lute.

Anne du Bourg was burnt at the stake at the Place de Grève. His calm courage and eloquence produced a profound impression. "I die," he said, "not a thief, but for the Gospel. I will cry yet louder when I die. None shall be able to separate me from Christ, whatever ills my body may endure." "Thus he died," said a friendly historian, "displaying the most admirable constancy shown by any that had suffered for the cause." By the martyrdom that day at the Place de Grève of the most virtuous member of the Parisian Senate, the severest blow was dealt to the Roman

Catholic Church. Thousands who had not before wavered in their allegiance to her resolved to investigate the truth of the faith that had given the martyr so signal a victory. "All Paris was astonished at the great constancy of the man," writes one of the most envenomed enemies of the Protestants that ever undertook to write their history.

Through the execution of Anne du Bourg, the cause of Protestantism gathered still more strength. Many of the nobles espoused it, and a defensive attitude was assumed. The Huguenots, as the Protestants began to be called, organised themselves. The name is supposed to be derived from "eidgenossen," which means confederates. Calvin and Beza warned them against taking up arms, and many are of the opinion that the reformed faith gained far more strength from the heroic endurance of its martyrs than from the sword.

The Houses of Guise, Francis, and the cardinal of Lorraine, in conjunction with Catherine de Medici and Mary Queen of Scots, niece of the Guises, who was married to Francis II. were all bitterly opposed to the Huguenots. The Pope induced the Court to sanction the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, in order to destroy the vermin, as they chose to call the Protestants, but the vermin were becoming too significant and important. The Court were filled with dismay when they discovered that the heir to the throne, Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, his brother Louis, Prince of Condè, and Francois d'Andelot, as well as his brother, Admiral Coligni, had espoused the Reformation cause. These noblemen put themselves at the head of the movement, and approached the Court in a constitutional manner to secure concessions and liberty of conscience for the Huguenots. Several edicts of toleration were granted, against the will of the Guises. This toleration embraced, amongst other liberties, the release from prison of all heretics. At once refugees came trooping back

from England, Germany, and the low countries. By the famous edict of January, 1562, the Protestants were allowed to worship by day outside the towns, but all the pastors were to take an oath that they would preach only according to the Scriptures and the creed of Nicæa. The toleration was, no doubt, very limited, but all legal ground for persecution was removed. "If the liberty promised us last," says Calvin, "the Papacy will fall to the ground of itself." But it did not last. The Duke of Guise very soon, boldly and flagrantly, violated it.

A congregation of Protestants were worshipping in a barn at Vassy, a town which was part of the dowry of Mary Queen of Scots. They were attacked during service by the army of the Duke. Men, women, and children, to the number of several hundreds, were slaughtered in cold blood. This was the beginning of that civil war that devastated France for over a quarter of a century, until the accession of Henry IV. In Paris and many other parts of France, the Protestant places of worship were attacked, and the worshippers massacred. At Toulouse, those who shut themselves up in the capital, being induced to surrender on the promise that they would be allowed to leave the town in safety, were slaughtered, men, women, and children, to the number of three thousand. The centenary of this slaughter was celebrated by the Roman Catholic Church in 1662 and 1762, and would have been in 1862 had it not been forbidden by the Government of Napoleon III. The Huguenots took up arms. All eyes were turned to Coligni to take the command. Knowing the horrors of civil war, he was reluctant to do this. He could not refer to the subject without shuddering, but the tears and sighs of his wife, the noble Charlotte de Laval, at length overmastered his reluctance. "To be prudent in men's esteem," she said, "is not to be wise in that of God who has given you the science of a general that you might use it for the good of His children." When

Coligni called upon her to consider the privation, the bereavement, the ignominy, and the death which awaited her and her family if the struggle proved unsuccessful, he offered her three weeks to make her decision. "The three weeks have passed," she said. "Summon your resources. Bring not upon your head the blood of those who might die within these weeks. I call upon you in God's name to delay no longer, for if you do, I shall be a witness against you at His judgment." Forthwith, Coligni took horse and joined the King of Navarre, Condè, and other Protestant nobles.

Three religious wars were waged during the leadership of Coligni. Antoine, King of Navarre, proved faithless. He was too weak to stand the wiles of Catherine de Medici, with whom he shared the regency during the minority of her son. Had he been strong minded enough, he would have taken the whole control that was his right, since he was the first prince of the blood. But he failed to exercise his power at a crisis that might have enabled him to save the shedding of the best blood of France. He died of a wound received at Rouen, a traitor to the faith he at first so nobly confessed, though it is reported that he repented on his death-bed, and vowed if God should spare him he would again espouse the cause of Protestantism.

In the first war the Huguenots lost the battle of Dreux. A truce of five years conferred a considerable amount of liberty upon the reformers. The second was followed by a truce of only five weeks. The third war proved most disastrous to the Huguenots. Prince Louis of Condè and their principal leaders were slain. Still they gathered their forces once again, and Coligni obtained better terms of peace than had yet been secured. The right of public worship was granted in a large number of towns, and four cities were given to them as places of refuge. Coligni continued to be the most trusted leader of the Huguenots. He resided in

La Rochelle, and was then guardian of the two princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condè, in whom lay the hope of their cause in the future. These two boys were dubbed the Admiral's pages. Catherine once again setting her intrigues in motion to serve her own ends, inveigled Coligni to Court, much against the remonstrances of his Huguenot friends. The young King, Charles IX., became greatly attached to the gentle, upright nobleman. For the first time in his life, he felt the charm and attractiveness of a noble and pure mind. Catherine de Medici became alarmed that this attachment of the young King might exercise a serious and dangerous influence over him and an influence derogatory to herself. In conjunction with her son, Henry of Anjou, she conspired to assassinate Coligni. He was fired at on his return one day from a visit to the King in the Palace gardens. The wound did not appear fatal. The King professed great sorrow, visited Coligni along with his mother and brother. In private conversation during the visit, Coligni warned the King against following the counsel and policy of his advisers, his mother amongst the rest. This advice was drawn out of him afterwards by his mother, and the diabolical project was initiated by herself and Henry to massacre all the Huguenots in Paris.

A few days before, Paris was jubilant over the marriage of the King's sister, Margaret, to Henry of Navarre. To the marriage ceremony the principal nobles of the Huguenots were invited. Paris was crowded with the best blood of Protestant France. There could be no more fitting opportunity to deal a most effective blow to the heretics. Accordingly all their houses were marked, and companies of soldiers were ordered to effect a wholesale massacre. These soldiers were distinguished by a white badge on their arm. The King was induced to believe by Catherine and her son that the Huguenots blamed him for the attack on Coligni, and that they were determined to take his life.

This led him to give his consent to the proposed massacre. A sudden reversion, peculiar to a mind as weak as it was fiendish, made him mad over the destruction of his innocent subjects. "Let them be slain, everyone of them," he cried. "Let none be left to tell the tale." The Admiral Coligni was the first to be slain by the soldiers of the Duke of Guise. When confronted by his assassins, he said to his servant, "I have long kept myself in readiness for death. I commit myself to the mercy of God." Having been stabbed to death, his body was thrown out of the window, at the request of the Duke of Guise, who, to make sure that his victim was now dispatched, turned his face upward, and on recognising him, treated the dead body with cruel barbarity.

Over two thousand Protestants were massacred that night in Paris. This was on the famous St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1572. In the rest of France, the same conspiracy resulted in the slaughter of as many as twenty thousand of the Huguenots. The young King of Navarre, now the King's brother-in-law, saved his life by the promise of abjuring the Protestant faith. Two years thereafter, in 1574, Charles IX. died, stricken by a horrible disease, which caused blood to exude from all the pores of his body. The people saw in this the punishment of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Huguenots, now without a leader, so organised themselves that they could readily place two thousand men in the field at the first call to arms. The liberal Catholics or "Politiques," as they were called, who were weary of massacre, imputed most of the evil to the foreigners, and determined upon the expulsion of the Florentines and the Lorraines.

Henry III., Charles' brother, now King, fearing a union between this new party and the Huguenots, granted unlimited religious toleration to the latter, and equal social

privileges with the Roman Catholics. To counteract the power of this dreaded union, a holy league was formed by the extreme Catholics, guided by the Guises, whose aim was to maintain the Popish cause and to destroy the Huguenots. This led to the war known as that of the "Three Henries," and last of the civil wars. The King quarrelled with the Guises and effected the assassination of the Duke and the Cardinal. The league was, however, too powerful for the King. The government was seized by its leaders. The King was tried by the Parliament. Henry fled to his enemies' camp, but even here he was not safe, for he was followed and assassinated by a fanatic of the league.

Henry of Navarre was now proclaimed King of France. The Roman Catholic league, however, and the Pope refused to acknowledge him. In the circumstances, Henry indicated his willingness to be instructed in the Roman Catholic faith. This enabled him to defeat the league. It was not, however, till he professed to adopt the Roman Catholic faith that war ceased between him and the league; it was not till the great complications that threatened the throne were removed, that he was acknowledged King of all France.

The King's conversion to the Romish Church was believed by Henry and by many others to be a political necessity. Had he, however, kept loyal to the faith of his youth and to the example of his noble mother, he would, like her, have been prepared to sacrifice his throne to his religion, but, lacking her convictions and being void of that true heart religion that of necessity produces a pure and upright life, he sacrificed the faith of his mother, the faith of his youth and manhood, to his ambition to be King of France.

His old companions in arms and in faith, although they mourned his apostasy, did not desert the young man who had from his boyhood been their associate and leader, and who, after the frightful Bartholomew day, had escaped from the Court as soon as he could fight in their midst. He in

turn obtained for them what they had been struggling for during twenty-three years of civil war.

The Edict of Nantes, 1598, was granted by Henry when sore pressed for men and money to oppose the King of Spain. It might have been granted on higher and nobler grounds, but granted it was, and it was received with thankfulness, and proved to be the Magna Charta of the Reformation. It gave complete liberty of conscience. Henceforth no one was to be persecuted for his religion. There were, however, some limitations to this religious liberty, chief amongst these that the Romish religion was declared the established religion, that Protestants had to pay tithes to established clergy, that they were to refrain from work on festival days, and to conform to the marriage laws of the Romish Church. The signing of this edict was the beginning of an era of tranquillity and great prosperity in France. The twelve years that followed are perhaps the most glorious in the annals of that country. Spain immediately offered terms of peace, and France, weary of civil war, sheathed the sword with joy.

When about to lead a great campaign of twenty European States against Austria, Henry was seized with a melancholy which he could not account for nor shake off. "I will never lead this campaign. I am nearing death. I shall die in my carriage." "Go instantly," said his great minister Sully, "and go on horseback." The 19th of May, 1610, was fixed for the departure of the King. On the 16th he was so distressed as to move the compassion of his attendants. He retired to his room, and was heard engaging in prayer. He ordered his carriage, and set out for a short drive, accompanied by two of his nobles. When passing at a slow pace along one of the streets, a monk, Francois Ravaillac, who had followed unobserved, stabbed him. He died a few hours after. Years before, Rome had launched her excom-

munication against the two Henries, and now both had fallen by her dagger.

"On the character of Henry IV.," says a certain historian, Dr. Wylie, "we cannot now dwell. It was a combination of great qualities and great faults. He was a brave soldier and an able leader. But we must not confound military brilliancy or political genius with moral greatness. Entire devotion to a noble cause—the corner stone of greatness—he lacked. France—in other words the glory and dominion of himself and house—was the supreme aim and end of all his toils, talents, and manœuvring. The great error of his life was his abjuration. The Roman Catholics it did not conciliate, and the Protestants it alienated."

It was the Edict of Nantes that made him strong, and gave to France almost the only ten years of real prosperity and glory which it had seen since the reign of Francis I. Had Henry nobly resolved to ascend the throne with a good conscience or not at all, had he not paltered with the Jesuits, had he said "I will give toleration to all but will myself abide in the faith which my mother taught me," his own heart would have been stronger, his life purer, his course less vacillating and halting. The Huguenots, the flower of French valour and intelligence, would have rallied round him and borne him to the throne, and kept him on it in spite of all his enemies. On what different foundations would his throne in that case have rested, and what a different glory would have enriched his memory!

CHAPTER XXVII.

Pioneers of the English Reformation.

The England of the beginning of the sixteenth century was very different from the England of to-day. The difference is perhaps less striking from an ecclesiastical and religious than from a political and social point of view. Her population then did not exceed three millions and a half, her military forces had not been trained in the new methods of European warfare, her navy was not kept up on a war footing. She could not rank higher than a third rate power. She stood aloof from the complicated schemes by which France and Spain were increasing their power, and extending their dominions, and her voice could not, therefore, be much heard in the affairs of Europe.

Under Henry VII., England began to gather her strength. Matrimonial alliances with Spain and Scotland, her commercial enterprise, and the sound condition of her finance, owing to the frugality if not parsimony of her King, gained for her the respect of the statesmen of Europe, and put in the hands of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey a power that gave the nation a distinction in the eyes of the world. But that which gave England the greatest distinction at this time was the Protestant Reformation. There were three separate forces that contributed to the rise and progress of this great movement, the revival of learning, the revival of religion, and the revival of political independence.

While the reforming influences of Germany gathered around Martin Luther, of France around John Calvin, and of Scotland around John Knox, those of England gathered

around no single outstanding figure, but around a group of great men who distinguished themselves in literature, religion, and politics. These men were the pioneers of the English Reformation.

The awakening of religious life over Europe, in the dawn of the sixteenth century, was associated closely with, if indeed it did not find its origin in, the awakening of learning. The Protestant Reformation was cradled and nursed by men of learning. Learning is the very genius of Protestantism, and it is by its inspiration and influence, wisely guided, that Protestantism not only maintained but also increased and consummated its power in the world.

At the close of the fifteenth century, there lodged together in Florence, under the patronage of the learned House of the Medici, a group of young Englishmen, who dreamed romantic dreams of Platonic philosophy in the calm evenings of summer under that glorious Tuscan sky. Amongst these was William Selling, afterwards distinguished at Canterbury by his zeal in collecting valuable manuscripts, Grocyn, Lilly, and Latimer—more bashful than a maiden—and above all Linacre, whom Erasmus ranked the greatest scholar in Italy. These distinguished students, on their return home, laid all their learning and the marvellous treasures of the Greek language before the youth of Oxford and Cambridge.

Erasmus, the prince of scholars, on the invitation of Mountjoy, a member of the royal household, set out for England, which he believed to be the kingdom of darkness. But before he had been long in England, he discovered unexpected light. Dining one day with the Lord Mayor of London, Erasmus was introduced to a young man of nineteen, slender, fresh-coloured, with blue eyes, coarse hands, and the right shoulder somewhat higher than the other. The young man was full of gaiety and jest, and a match in literary contest and sarcasm for the cleverest and wittiest man in Europe. After some passages of wit and

sarcasm, in which the young man greatly excelled, Erasmus exclaimed, "You are either More or nobody." The young man, who did not know the stranger, quickly replied, "You are either Erasmus or the devil." From this moment, Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, became sworn friends. More was a reformer as well as a scholar, though a zealous Roman Catholic to his death, but his reform was more in the social and political direction than in the ecclesiastical. In his famous satire, *Utopia,* his most comprehensive contribution to literature, he exposes the corrupt institutions of his day, both in the State and in the Church. In this *Utopia,* More describes a state of perfect happiness under a good and wise government. All the children were to have a good education, and when they left school were to continue their education, going to lectures, and giving up some hours every day to study. Everyone was to work only a certain time each day, and to have ample time for thinking, reading, and recreation. Everything and everybody was to be ruled by love and not by self-interest.

More was a man of a singularly noble and steadfast character, and when he was beheaded in 1535 for his loyalty to his convictions, Erasmus described him as a soul purer than snow. He recalled his beautiful home at Chelsea, where everyone was cheerful and busy, his wife with her household duties, his four daughters with their tutor and their books, their father with his studies and his writing or walking with his guests in their fine old garden. "In that home," Erasmus says, "no quarrelling nor intemperate words were ever heard, and idleness was never seen." John Colet, a friend of Erasmus and More, spent some time in Italy, became versed in all the New Learning, and received a powerful religious impulse from having come into contact with Savonarola. He lectured in Oxford on classical literature and the Epistles of Paul. With the fortune his father

left him, he founded the Grammar School of St. Paul's, of which he was Dean. There he educated over a hundred and fifty boys of high social connection in Biblical and patristic literature. But Colet was more than a scholar. He was also a reformer. At a convocation of English bishops, whose aim was to root out heresy, he was asked to speak plainly regarding the condition of the Church. He described the priests as greedy of honour and riches, abandoning themselves to sensual delights, spending their days in hunting and their nights in revelry. "We hear," he said, "of strong and heretical opinion in those days, but there is no heresy more dangerous to the Church than the vicious lives of its priests. The way to reform the Church is not by making new laws—of these there are enough already—but by living new lives. Will you, oh fathers and bishops, begin the reformation so much needed? We, the priests, will follow when we see you going before. We need not fear that the whole body of the people will come after. Your holy lives will be the book in which we can read the Gospel and be taught how to practice it, your example will be a sermon which will be more effectual to draw the people into the right path than all the horrors of cursing and excommunication."

The bishop of London, Fitz James, complained to the bishop of Canterbury of the heresies of Dean Colet. Amongst many other charges, he accused him of having said that it was lawful to repeat the Lord's Prayer in one's mother tongue, and that the text, "Feed my sheep," does not allow the priests to impose temporal dues on the laity, and that sermons in the pulpit ought not to be read. The bishop smiled, for he himself was guilty of reading his sermons. The charges were not further investigated.

The New Learning was favoured and encouraged in the royal household. Henry VII. made no pretention to education, but his mother, the Countess of Richmond, was inclined to literature. She was a remarkable woman. From her

room where she consecrated the first five hours of the day to reading, meditation, and prayer, she moved to another part of the palace to dress the wounds of the poor. Thence she passed into the gay saloon, where she conversed with the scholars whom she encouraged with her munificence. This noble lady exercised the greatest influence over her grandchild, afterwards Henry VIII. From her he received the inspiration to become a scholar and to advance education and learning. He gathered men of letters about him, and often expressed the desire to become a learned man himself, and to a considerable degree this desire was realized. Nor was Cardinal Wolsey, the King's right hand man, less intent upon furthering the interests of learning. When he abandoned the proposal to take measures to reform the morals of the priests—and no priest needed to be more reformed than himself—he directed his attention to the building and endowing of colleges, and left nothing undone to place in these colleges the best scholars that Europe produced—scholars who did more than he bargained for, for they were amongst the first to give an impulse to religious life in England, and some of them were amongst the first to suffer martyrdom in the cause of the Reformation.

The revival of learning effected by this group of men, together with the influence exerted by the scholarship of Germany and France and Holland, most of all by Erasmus, could not fail to help in a very special manner the rise and progress of the Reformation in England.

Alongside the revival of learning grew up the revival of true religion, and those who were being influenced by the former, hailed with gladness the advent of the latter. The educated were indignant at the ignorance of the clergy, and were anxious to enlighten both clergy and laity. The priests as a rule were grossly ignorant. It is probable that knowledge of the Scriptures was then rarer in England than in France and Germany. The Bible was an unknown book

to most of the clergy, and Erasmus tells that he saw a copy of the gospel of Nicodemus chained to a pillar in Canterbury Cathedral, and read as part of the canonical Scriptures. The higher clergy were too busy administering the affairs of State to concern themselves about the Bible. The archbishop of Canterbury was Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Winchester was Lord High Treasurer, the bishop of Durham was Secretary of State, and the bishop of London was Master of the Rolls. The Bible was not read nor studied, and yet every true reformation is that which emanates from the Word of God.

The Reformation in England was essentially the work of the Scriptures. What brought light into the British Isles subsequently to the year 1517, and on a more extensive scale after 1526, was the Word, the invisible power of the invisible God. The religion of the Anglo-Saxon race, a race called more than any other to circulate the oracles of God throughout the world, is particularly distinguished by its biblical character.

Many of the bishops and priests were beginning to feel the force of the revival of learning. The light of the truth, exposing their ignorance and superstition, was subjecting them to ridicule. From none did they suffer so much in this respect as from Erasmus. His sarcasm pierced the priesthood like barbed arrows. Bishop Standish was bishop of St. Asaph, commonly abbreviated St. As's. Erasmus could not restrain his wit, and as the bishop was but a poor theologian, he often substituted, in speaking of him, St. As's for St. Asaph, calling him "Episcopus a sancto asino." Nothing galled the dignitaries of the Church more than this cutting sarcasm of the great scholar. He, however, made the Church too hot for himself. He found it was impossible for him to steer a middle course; he must either fight or leave the country. Had he the courage of Luther, who about this time posted his Theses at Wittenberg,

he would have fought and fought to purpose. He was at the head of a great literary movement. By means of his correspondence, which extended over all the countries of Europe, he established between these countries, where learning was reviving, an interchange of ideas and manuscripts. He had also great influence in the English Court, all which gave him immense power. But Erasmus lacked courage. When attacked even by Standish, he became afraid of his life, and, true to his nature, the literary king determined to quit the Court of England and the country, and take refuge in a printing house in Basle. There, in the office of Forbienius, he set himself to work to issue a text of the New Testament. Than the publication of this New Testament in the original language nothing was more important to the Reformation. He collated from many manuscripts, he provided himself with the commentaries of the Fathers, he investigated the text according to the principles of criticism. As the fruit of this great toil and ripest scholarship, a copy of the New Testament in Greek with the Latin translation was issued from the press. The world now for the first time possessed a New Testament printed in the original language.

Copies were at once dispatched to London, Oxford, and Cambridge. It was Erasmus's gift to England, and, in giving the country this gift, he gave it more than if he had added the most powerful country in Europe to its dominion. In his preface, he wrote, "A spiritual temple must be raised in Christendom. The mighty of the world will contribute towards it their marble, their ivory, and their gold. I, who am poor and humble, offer the foundation stone. It is not," he adds, "from human cisterns fetid with stagnant waters that we should draw the doctrines of salvation, but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God. If the ship of the Church is to be saved from being

swallowed up by the tempest, there is only one anchor that can save it, and that is the heavenly word which, issuing from the bosom of the Father, lives, speaks, and works still in the Gospel."

The New Testament in Greek and Latin was received with great enthusiasm by all men of upright hearts who could read it, but by the Church with greatest disapproval. The priests attacked the translation. Not daring to attempt to influence the educated, they stirred up the ignorant against it. True, the translation was different from what they were accustomed to, and in this lay its power. Instead of the words, "do penance," as the Latin translation has it, the new translation substituted "repent." That texts like this, which are at the foundation of our Christian beliefs, should be correctly translated is of vital importance. It is on such that the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches disagree and construct their different systems of doctrine. No wonder though the Roman Church opposed this New Testament, for it struck a fierce blow at the very foundation of her faith.

The students of Oxford and Cambridge devoured the new book. At Cambridge, a distinguished youth, Thomas Billney, failing to receive from the priest guidance and comfort, when in great distress for his soul's salvation (though contrary to the commands of the Church), bought a copy of the New Testament with fear and trembling. He shut himself up in his room to read it. As he opened the book, his eyes caught these words, "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came to the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." "I am like Paul," exclaimed Billney with emotion, "and worse than Paul, the greatest of sinners. But Christ saves sinners." His doubts were ended, and he was saved. He felt inward peace passing all understanding. "Jesus Christ," exclaimed

he, "yes, Jesus Christ saves. I see it all now. My fasts, my pilgrimages, my purchase of masses and indulgences, have been destroying instead of saving me."

There was at Cambridge at that time another young student, the son of a Leicestershire yeoman, of great parts, lively disposition, and fond of amusements. One day one of his priest companions, as they were dining together, exclaimed: "Nihil melius quam laetari et facere bene"—"There is nothing better than to be merry and to do well." "A vengeance," said the priest, "on that bene (well). I wish it were beyond the sea. It mars all the rest." Hugh Latîmer, for that was his name, was surprised. "I understand it now," said he. "That will be a heavy bene to those monks when they shall have to render an account to God of their lives."

Latimer began to turn his attention to serious matters. He threw himself into the practices of superstition. One day when one of his relatives lay dead, an aged cousin undertook to instruct him. "Now," she said, "we must drive out the devil. Take this holy taper, my child, and pass it over the body, first long ways and then athwart, so as always to make the sign of a cross." But the scholar's performance was awkward, and the aged cousin snatched the candle from his hand, exclaiming angrily, "It is a great pity your father spent so much money on your studies. He will never make anything of you." But this prophecy was not fulfilled. Such prophecies rarely are. Hugh Latimer became a distinguished student, a keen controversialist, a strenuous upholder of his Church, and an enthusiastic advocate of her doctrines. He even attacked Philip Melancthon in his teaching, and gained for himself the reputation of a zealous and able churchman. A chronicler speaks of him as a tryer of Satan's notabilities, appointed by God to detect the bad money that he was circulating throughout the Church.

Billney sought to win him for Christ, and by a very strange plot he succeeded. "For the love of God," he said to Latimer one day, "be pleased to hear my confession. The heretic prays to make confession to the Catholic." "How wonderful," thought Latimer. "My discourse against Melancthon converted him." Latimer was delighted. Kneeling before him, Billney related to him with touching simplicity the anguish he had once felt in his soul, the efforts he made in vain to remove it, and lastly the peace he had felt when he believed in Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. Latimer's heart was opened. The Holy Spirit spoke to him through this confession. The penitent rose up, but Latimer remained seated, absorbed in thought. Like Saul on the way to Damascus, he was conquered, and his conversion, like Paul's, was instantaneous. "I learned more," said he, "by this confession than by much reading in many years before. I now tasted the Word of God and forsook the doctrine of the schools and all their fooleries." These two young men, then locked in their solitary chamber in Cambridge, were one day to mount the scaffold for that divine master whose spirit was teaching them. But one of them, before going to the stake, had first to sit on the Episcopal throne.

Latimer from this time threw all his fervour and energy into the cause of the Reformation. He preached fearlessly and with great power. As one place was closed against him by the Church, another was opened by his friends. "Do you know," said he, preaching on one occasion, "who is the most diligent bishop and primate in all England? I will tell you. It is the devil. He is never out of his diocese. You shall never find him out of his way. He is always at home, call for him when you will. You shall never find him idle, I warrant you. When the devil is resident there, away with bibles and up with beads, away with the light of the Gospel and up with the light of candles,

down with Christ's cross and up with purgatory, away with clothing the poor and up with decking images and gaily garnishing your stocks and stones. Truly it may be said there never was such a preacher in England as the devil."

Latimer's preaching, which was of great originality and power, was one of the strongest forces in the progress of the Reformation in England. Thomas Bacon says, "I was present when, with marked authority and arguments, he proved that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people, whether priests or laymen. He spoke nothing but it left certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. Oh! how vehement was he in rebuking all sin, and how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He never failed to water with good deeds whatsoever he had before planted with Godly words."

At Oxford, where Erasmus had many student friends, the Greek Testament was most cordially received. One of those students, a descendant of an ancient family in the valley of the Severn, William Tyndale, a youth of a virtuous disposition and unspotted life, began to study the book. Having felt its marvellous power, he began to give lectures on it. His Oxford friends resented this, and Tyndale left and joined his friend, Billney, at Cambridge. These two were joined by a third, John Fryth, in whose heart Tyndale had sown the seed of the Gospel. These three studied the Bible together. They saw that it was faith that unlocked all the blessings of salvation. It was not from Wittenberg that they received this view, but from the Bible, and on the Bible alone they laid the foundation of the Church of England.

Tyndale, having finished his studies, became tutor in his native place to the family of Sir John Walsh. Here he came much in contact with the priest, with whom he

disputed in favour of Protestant doctrine. He always appealed in argument to the Greek New Testament, which he kept by him. Tyndale's views and preaching rendered it impossible for him to remain any longer with safety in the house of his patron. But before leaving, he conceived the idea of translating the New Testament into English.

With letters of introduction to the bishop of London from Sir John Walsh, he proceeded to the metropolis. Bishop Tunstall gave him no help. His preaching in London, however, secured for him the friendship of a rich merchant, Humphrey Monmouth, who gave him the hospitality of his home. Joined by his friend, Fryth, both young men toiled night and day for six months on the translation of the New Testament, verse by verse, and chapter by chapter, intent, as they said, upon kindling a torch which would illuminate England.

The hunt for heresy was abroad in London. Inquisition was made for all who had any of Luther's books. To translate the New Testament was a greater crime than to read the books of the Wittenberg monk. So Tyndale had to leave London for Hamburg, taking the first ship across. The writings of Luther were condemned to be burnt, and their readers along with them. Pope Leo issued a Bull against the new movement in England, and so did Cardinal Wolsey. The King himself wrote to Louis of Bavaria to seize and exterminate this Luther, who was a rebel against Christ, and unless he repent, to deliver him and his audacious writings to the flames. The King also wrote a book against the heretic and his views, which the Pope greatly praised.

This was the attitude assumed towards the Reformation in high quarters in England. For this book Henry VIII. obtained from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith. "I would not exchange this name," said the King exultingly, "for all London and twenty miles round." The King's fool, entering the room, asked him the cause of his

joy. "The Pope," replied the King, "has just named me 'Defender of the Faith.'" "Ho, ho! good Harry," replied the fool, "let you and me defend one another, but take my word for it, let faith alone defend itself!" A far seeing fool indeed! An entire modern system lay dormant in these words.

Meanwhile, Tyndale was hard at work at Hamburg. After much difficulty and care, he sent from thence to Monmouth in London copies of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. After receiving £10 in return, he set out for Cologne and placed his manuscripts in the hands of the printing firm of Francis Bryckman, who had warehouses in St. Paul's churchyard in London—a circumstance that Tyndale felt would facilitate the introduction of his work into England. But before the first copy was half printed, the emissaries of Rome were on his track. Tyndale, anticipating the search at Cologne, rushed to the printing office, collected his sheets, jumped into a boat, and rapidly ascended the river, carrying with him the hope of England. After six days, he reached Worms, placed his book in the hands of one of the inventors of printing, and two editions were completed within a year, in 1525. Although orders were issued to every port in England to seize this book on its arrival, several merchants, protected by the kind providence of God, landed safely five hundred copies. Thomas Garret was entrusted with the circulation of the book. He sold some first to his friends in London, then in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. From these Universities the circulation was diffused over the whole kingdom. The day had broken in England with the Greek and Latin New Testament of Erasmus. Now it was approaching noontide splendour with Tyndale's English translation.

But was not the Bible translated by Wycliffe more than one hundred years before? Yes, and that translation served a great purpose, and was the means of sowing the seed of

Reformation principles throughout the kingdom. As the result of that translation, we find the revival of Lollardism in England, and its introduction into Scotland. But from the very nature of the case, the number of copies was limited. It existed only in manuscript and the cost was so great that only noblemen and wealthy persons could buy it. Tyndale's was not more expensive than the twentieth part of the cost of Wycliffe's Bible, and if we compare the value of money and the price of labour of that time with the present, it would take a whole year's labour to buy a copy of Wycliffe's New Testament, and the wages of a fortnight that of Tyndale's. But the working men of England did not grudge a fortnight's wages in those days for a copy of the New Testament.

The larger portion of the first two editions of the New Testament was purchased by the bishop of London and burnt at the Cross, but the money paid for them was devoted to the issuing of another larger and corrected edition, which was shipped to England and rapidly circulated to the dismay and chagrin of the bishop. Fifty-one thousand copies more were published by a Dutch firm, and sent to England. The foundation of the Reformation was thus being laid in the diffusion of the Scriptures. No great work is given to the world without sacrifice, and the noble men who helped to disseminate the Word of God in their native land and in the native tongue did not hesitate to give themselves in its defence to the scaffold or to the stake. Billney, when he arrived at the stake, embraced it, and taking hold of the chain, he wound it round his body, and the sergeant made it fast behind. His dying words were "That it was lawful for every man and woman to read the Word of God in their native language." As the fire half consumed his arms and his legs, he exclaimed, "Oh, ye Papists, ye look for a miracle, look at me. I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down. This place is to me a bed of roses."

Tyndale, through the treachery of a spy of Henry VIII., was arrested at Antwerp, tortured, cast into prison, then strangled and burned. His last words were, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." Fryth, who aided Tyndale in his great work, died at the stake, and his heroic death produced a profound impression in England. Garret, Monmouth, and many other noble-minded and self-sacrificing men perished in the same way for their testimony for God and the Word of His grace. The pure lives of these men, their preaching, their devotion, their never-ceasing energy in circulating the Word of God, and their loyalty unto the death to their convictions, and their marvellous testimony on the scaffold and in the flames, created in many hearts and homes a strong repugnance to the Church of Rome, whose vocation and aim was evidently the destruction of the men and means that advanced the moral and spiritual well-being of the people. The reading of the Word of God by the people, and the preaching and martyrdom of those noble men produced an awakening and created a spiritual power in England that grew in depth and strength, inspiring many of her people to endure the baptism of fire and sword that she was destined to be baptised with in coming years.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Puritan Movement in England.

"English Puritans," says Macaulay, "are the most remarkable body of men that the world ever produced." No less striking and valuable is the testimony of Hume to those men: "The precious spark of freedom," he says, "had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone. It is to them that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." The Puritan movement was one of the necessary and principal products of the Reformation, both in England and Scotland. In England the Reformation worked mainly from the political, in Scotland from the religious centre. The ruling idea in the former country was the emancipation of the throne from the supremacy of the Pope; the ruling idea in the latter was the emancipation of the conscience from the Popish faith.

The most prominent outcome of the Reformation in England was a free State; the immediate product of the Reformation in Scotland was a free Church. The passion for freedom was common to both countries, and manifested itself in some of its strongest aspects in the great struggle for religious liberty that characterised the Puritan movement.

It was about the year 1564 that the word "puritan" began to be used, not at first as a term of reproach, but to designate those who sought the purest form of worship, "religio purissima." During the Marian persecution, many of England's best sons fled to Holland, Switzerland, and Germany. The more tolerant reign of Elizabeth, however,

beckoned them back to their native land. A few years' practice of the plain Calvinistic form of worship made some of them less disposed towards the "tawdry apparel" of the Church of their fathers. Hooper, during the reign of Mary, refused to be ordained bishop to the See of Gloucester, in 1550, in the customary robes of the Popish priesthood, but afterwards, on the advice of his friends, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, professors of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, he consented. He did not, however, cease to oppose the vestments, and so paid the penalty by suffering martyrdom along with Ridley, in sight of the very cathedral in which he had been consecrated four years before. But the vestiary controversy was not extinguished in the flames of Hooper's martyrdom. The spirit from which it sprang continued to live on and gather strength.

The ritual controversy which started the Puritan movement appeared on the surface to be invested with no vital interest. It seemed to be a question of wearing by the bishops of long scarlet robes down to the foot of the surplice, and a white linen vestment covering the shoulders, as well as the variety of dress worn by the priesthood in service, called by many of the bishops, "theatrical dresses, fooleries, ridiculous trifles, intended to cover the ignorance of the priests, whom, when they found them to be no better than mere logs of wood without talent or learning or morality, they were willing at least to commend to their people by their comical dress." The Puritans were too liberal minded to make serious scruples about mere dress. They saw, or imagined they saw masked under the dress one of the leading doctrines of the Romish Church. The garments adopted from those of the Jewish priesthood were held by the Church of Rome to be emblematical of the sacrificial offering of the Christian priesthood. Hence their peculiar obnoxiousness to the Puritans. The vestiary controversy was a shaft into a mine in which slumbered elements of the most

powerful nature, always ready to burst into flames. The opposition was not confined to a few, even in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It prevailed amongst the parochial clergy, in the training colleges and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The fellows and students, to the number of three hundred, cast off their surplices. So widely had the opposition spread that a motion introduced into Convocation, proposing to abolish the use of organs, the observance of saint days, and the signing of the Cross in baptism was rejected in a comparatively full house only by a majority of one.

Elizabeth had a most difficult task before her in the beginning of her reign. A large proportion of her subjects were Roman Catholics, and most of those who were Protestants favoured the traditional form of worship of the Romish Church. The Queen herself, though a true Protestant, and in that respect very different from her father, was naturally and instinctively fond of display, and was therefore in full sympathy with the Romish Church ritual. At the outset she determined to hold the reins in her own hands, and passed the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the former conferring on her absolute power in Church appointments, the latter enabling her to force her views regarding vestments and service. "Upon the fatal rock of uniformity," says Neale, "the peace of the Church of England was split." With some of the bishops returned from exile, who did not sympathise with the "Ritual," Elizabeth dealt rudely and roughly. She found fault with the bishop of Bristol for cutting his beard too short, and told her ladies that if the bishop of London, who had been preaching on the vanity of decking the body too finely, "held more discourses on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff and leave his mantle behind him."

In Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Elizabeth found

a man after her own heart. He waged war against the "obnoxious Puritans," with such success that one third of the whole beneficed clergymen were under suspension for refusing to comply with the habits and ceremonies of the Church.

Elizabeth continued to harass, fine, and imprison the Puritans, and yet she had no design of converting them to Roman Catholicism. At heart she was a Protestant, and while she persecuted many of her Protestant subjects at home, she favoured and supported Protestantism abroad. Her passion for display and gorgeous ceremonies, combined with a strong desire to conciliate the Roman section of her subjects, seems to account, to a large extent, for her severe treatment of the Puritans. Even those whom she persecuted, however, honoured her for her defence of the Protestant faith. A Puritan, whose right hand was cut off for not obeying her, seized his hat with his left hand and cried, "God save the Queen!" It is not surprising that the policy of oppression she pursued secured for the oppressed such sympathy and support that, at the end of her long reign, the Puritans had largely increased. Their rupture had spread far and wide, and their opposition, which at first was confined to the ceremonies of the Church, was now directed against the Government, in as far as in their opinion it affected adversely the laws of the Church and the interest of true religion in the land.

At the commencement of the reign of the Stuarts, Puritanism was a mighty force in the State and the Church. The Millinery Petition with which James I. was presented on his way from Scotland to London was signed by eight hundred ministers from twenty-five counties. Archbishop Whitgift was uneasy about the "Scotch mist," as he called James I., but the Puritans were full of brag, for they believed that the King was a Puritan. He was one with them in having little to say in favour of the bishops and

the Prayer Book—the former he called "Popish prelates," the latter "an ill said Mass in English."

The famous Hampton Court Conference was appointed to settle the religious difficulties. At that conference the bishops fawned upon the King. They called him a second Solomon, as he displayed his learning in the discussion of theological doctrines and Church discipline. Their flattery succeeded. The Puritans were ignored and insulted, and the conference, which afforded a splendid opportunity to bring together the two factions in the Church of England, and strengthen the cause of Protestantism at home and abroad ended in disappointment and failure.

Perhaps the only redeeming feature of this conference was the proposal for an authorised version of the English Bible—a proposal which was afterwards carried into effect. At this conference James sounded the note of his favourite maxim, "No Bishop, no King," and fearing the introduction of the Scottish General Assembly into England, took occasion to say that Presbyterianism agreed with monarchy as well as the devil with God. King James I., as did also the dynasty he inaugurated, believed in the divine right of kings, a belief that was approved of and supported by the High Church party, but strenuously opposed by the Puritans or the Low Church party. It is strange that James I., who professed such high admiration for Calvinism, should insist upon the divine right of kings. "Calvinism," says a notable authority, "logically carried out, is democratic in its teaching and aim." "The meanest peasant," says J. R. Green, "once called of God, feels within him a strength that is stronger than the right of kings." Calvinists have always stood out for the rights of the people in opposition to arbitrary power. The King and his party in the Church began to adopt the belief of the divine right of bishops as well as that of kings, and to maintain that all the ministers who were not ordained by bishops had

no standing in the Church other than that of laymen. "Apostolic succession," says an able writer in the *Contemporary Review,* "is not to be found in the writings of the Elizabethan divines. These divines did not claim that ordination by bishops was essential to a vital commission as a minister. The bishops made demands and insisted upon subscriptions to oaths that the Puritans could not comply with. Unrestrained by James I., who was wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lusts, those bishops oppressed and persecuted the Puritans and drove them in hundreds across the seas to America; but those severe measures failed in their purpose, as the like severe measures failed in the preceding reign, and when the British Solomon, an habitual liar and swearer, died, the Puritans were the most powerful party in England."

Charles I., the son and successor of James I., was by nature and training less gifted and less inclined than his father to favour the nonconformists in State and Church. His early relations with Buckingham and with the intrigues of the Courts of France and Spain, the unbounded influence of Strafford and Laud over him (the former of whom was said to keep the crown in his pocket, the latter to have the keys of the Church in his hand) combined to make him more arbitrary in his rule than his father, and more determined to root out Puritanism.

About this time, the Puritan movement assumed a new phase. Hitherto the controversy and struggle had gathered round the ritual and government of the Church. In doctrine both prelates and Puritans agreed. Both held the Augustinian, commonly called the Calvinistic view. But a new school of divines began to appear, and were soon in high favour at Court. They were at first known as Arminians. Arminius was professor of divinity at Leyden, and had died broken-hearted as the result of the slander and persecution of the Calvinists, whose system he had

opposed. But the reaction throughout Europe against the theology of the sixteenth century was carried on successfully by such men as Calixtus in Germany, Grotius in Holland, Casaubon in France, and Andrewes in England. The old controversy about vestments and bishops was forgotten in the excitement and din created by the doctrine. Promotion was given to the Arminians, who rapidly filled the high places in the Church. "What," asked a country gentleman of Morley, "do the Arminians hold?" "They hold," replied the bishop, "the best bishoprics and deaneries in England."

Laud, the pupil of Bancroft, who introduced the doctrine of Apostolic succession into the Anglican Church, was the guiding star of the King, or rather his evil genius, in ecclesiastical matters. To him, more than to Charles I., belongs the honour of being the martyr of Anglo-Catholicism. Laud, the son of an inn-keeper, born in Reading, October 7th, 1573, produced an immense effect in the history of England and Scotland. One can scarcely appreciate Lord Macaulay when he dismisses Laud with impatient scorn as a "supercilious driveller," compressing into a few sharp sentences what he deems satisfactory evidence, although all the evidence is drawn from the pages of Laud's diary.

Laud's letters to Strafford, his comprehensive scheme of ritual and uniformity of worship for England and Scotland, his tact in managing men, and his unbounded influence over his own party, prove him to be a man of affairs, resource, and ability of no ordinary kind. No man but a man of great determination, consummate skill, and energy, could have risen as he did to the highest position in the Church, and could have wielded the influence he did in the State. But no ecclesiastic during one of the most eventful periods in English history did so much harm to the cause of Protestantism and played so much into the hands of the Romish

Church as William Laud, yet he did not seem to be in favour of the doctrine of the sacraments of the Church of Rome, nor to insist vehemently upon Apostolic succession. "The Catholic Church," he says, in the exordium of one of his sermons, "is neither Rome nor Conventicle. Out of the Catholic Church there is no salvation, I easily confess, but out of Rome there is, and out of a Conventicle too. Salvation is not shut up into such a narrow conclave." In contrast to this sober statement, which shows him at his best, is Laud's extraordinary passion for ceremonies, which consisted in some parts at least in what can only be defined as "regulated antics, bowing, stepping backward and forward according to number and measure without any discernible beauty or impressiveness." When one recollects that, according to the account of his contemporaries, he was a diminutive, red-faced man, one can hardly help feeling that there was more of a grotesque pantomime than of the beauty of holiness in the performance.

The observance of Sunday (called Sabbath by the Puritans) was another subject of bitter controversy. Sports and pastimes were quite common on Sunday afternoon. Even the reformers sometimes took part in these. It is said that John Knox and John Calvin used to play together at bowls in Geneva after service on Sunday. Laud encouraged these sports, chiefly from political motives. He gave instructions that they should be intimated from the pulpits. The Puritans refused to give this intimation. The stigma of Puritanism was fixed on all who would not take part in these games, who would not dance round the maypole on Sunday, but read the Bible in the family, or prayed, or fasted, or went to a neighbouring parish to hear a sermon, or reproved swearers and drunkards, or stood up for the law of their country in Parliament. For no more serious crimes than these were the Puritans persecuted, fined, whipped, and imprisoned by the Courts of the Star Chamber

and High Commission. They suffered barbarous mutilation, ear cutting, nose slitting, and branding. This oppression produced bitter fruit. Seditious libels were dispersed about London, and Laud was threatened with destruction. Yet one other step he dared to take in the policy of oppression. Convocation under his leadership passed what was known as the "etcetera oath," binding all clergymen and graduate laymen to approve of the doctrine and government of the Church as now established. Those who refused to take this oath were to be deprived of their livings. This was the last straw to break the camel's back. The point of tension at last yielded: the spirit of the nation was so roused that the nobles prevailed upon the King to command Laud to forbear to press the odious oath. The archbishop took alarm; he began to adopt a milder policy, and appointed a committee to revise the Book of Common Prayer to meet the views of the Puritans, but it was all too late. Parliament proceeded to take action, and Laud and Strafford were committed to prison for high treason.

The Puritans had now amongst their ranks the majority of the nobles of England, as well as of the merchants. The army, such as it was, declared for the King. In the civil war that ensued, the Scottish nation responded to the invitation of the English Parliament to join issue with them against the Royalists. The Solemn League and Covenant formed a bond of union. The hope of having Presbyterianism established in England and Ireland as in Scotland made the Scottish people enthusiastic. The English nation—those who were not Royalists—submitted to the new Church government, but its yoke was not found to be easy, nor its burden light.

The great leaders of the Puritans were Eliot, Pym, Hampden, Wentworth, and Oliver Cromwell, noted for his greasy hat and bare coat—"a rough-hewn, slouching fellow from the Fens." These and other great patriots and

politicians, under the leadership of the last-named, who distinguished himself as a military leader as well as a statesman, dethroned and beheaded the King, sent Laud, Strafford, and other prominent Royalists to the block, and set up and established the Commonwealth.

During the civil war, and for some time after, Puritanism was supreme. By the overthrow of Episcopacy, over sixteen hundred ministers were ejected from their charges, chiefly on the ground of their unfitness of mind and morals. One-fifth of their income was continued to their families. The short reign of Presbyterianism was not regarded by the English people as an ideal one. Under the government of Prelacy, they said, they had two Popes—one in Rome and another in Canterbury. But now under the government of Presbyterianism they had a Pope in every parish. The Puritans and Presbyterians were not more tolerant than the Prelates. Toleration and liberty of conscience were damnable doctrines when they wanted others to adopt their own views. To serve God according to the persuasion of their own conscience was, in their opinion, to cast out one devil that seven worse might come in.

While the civil war was proceeding, and Cromwell's army of Ironsides, aided by the Scottish army, was winning laurels against the Royalists, another war was being waged, not by swords, but by words in the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminister. The number of divines appointed to undertake the constructive work in the Jerusalem Chamber was one hundred and fifty, including Anglicans, but only sixty usually attended. The Anglicans seldom, if ever, put in an appearance. The work was done by three parties—the Erastians, the Independents, and the Presbyterians. "To compose a directory in place of the Prayer Book, to set up in a confession of faith what men must believe, to draw up a catechism for teaching the true creed, was no easy task—a task made all the more difficult because complicated by

the play of politics outside, and the necessity of serving many changing masters, who were laymen; for the Assembly was but the creature of a Parliamentary Ordinance." No wonder that five and a half years were required to complete the task, and that fasting and prayer were found needful. In these years they had over a thousand sittings. For five days a week those worthies laboured from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon. Each member received four shillings a day, and was fined sixpence if late for prayers at half-past eight. Occasionally they had a day for fasting, "when they spent from nine to five very graciously." "After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large for two hours most divinely. After Mr. Arrowsmith preached one hour, Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours. Johnstone of Warriston, intending to spend an hour or two in prayer, once carried his devotions from six o'clock in the morning until he was amazed by the bell ringing at eight o'clock in the evening." These prodigies in physical endurance in spiritual exercises were not uncommon in those days.

Although these sixty divines, who exercised such gymnastics at Westminster, numbered amongst them many pious and learned men, yet they had no real athlete. To the strong and compacted doctrines of the Calvinistic faith they contributed nothing either striking or original. "Just," says John Morley in his *Life of Cromwell,* "as mediæval schoolmen discussed the nature and existence of universals in one century and the mysteries of immortality and a superhuman First Cause in another century, so now divines and laymen discussed predestination, justification, election, reprobation, and the whole unfathomable body of theological metaphysics by the same method—verbal logic, drawing sterile conclusions from untested authority."

In May, 1647, the famous work was completed, and submitted to the House of Commons, but at that time

Parliament was in deep waters, and the Westminster Confession, along with the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, did not receive the sanction of the State.

The man who at this time inspired the Puritan movement and gave it its place of triumph under the Commonwealth was Oliver Cromwell. "Cromwell was not only one of the very few men in all history who, after overthrowing an ancient system of government, have proved themselves with an ever greater success, to be conservative and constructive statesmen, but he was also one of the greatest human forces ever directed to a moral purpose, and in that sense one of the greatest men who ever trod the scene of history. The Divine mastered, inspired, guided, and blessed him. It made him a tower of strength to the persecuted Protestants at home and abroad."

After Cromwell's death, and immediately before the restoration of Charles II., there was a strong re-action. The Puritans advocated limited monarchy. The King's promises to support the Protestant faith and the Presbyterian form of worship and government induced them to support the Royalists in restoring him to his kingdom. Charles's promises and pledges were like those of his family —utterly worthless. Shortly after his restoration, the Puritans began to lose caste and power. The old Church party recognised their opportunity, got the ear of the King and of Clarendon, his chief adviser, and a policy of oppression and revenge was instituted.

The old controversy of the Prayer Book was re-opened, and an Act of Uniformity was passed which was a violation of the promises and pledges of the King. This Act was so framed as to make it impossible for the Puritans to remain within the established Church of England, consistently with a claim to liberty of conscience and the self-respect that characterised their past history.

On August 24th, 1662, Black Bartholomew's day, as it was called, two thousand clergymen gave up their livings. "Our sins," says Philip Henry, Matthew Henry's father, "have made this one of the saddest days to England since the days of Edward VI. But even this will be our good though we know not how or when."

Thus were the Puritans cast out of the national Church by a treacherous and vindictive Act, yet many of their best men continued to worship in it, such as Baxter, Manton, and Howe. As a theologian, Baxter had few equals. When an important committee sat to revise the Common Prayer Book, and each of the Puritans in that committee was asked to write his suggestions of alterations and additions, Baxter, after a fortnight's time, produced a complete new Prayer Book, a fact which, if it showed his lack of judgment and his self-consciousness, yet showed what Herculean tasks he was prepared and in a measure able to perform. Except John Bunyan, whose eloquence could draw twelve hundred people together on a dark winter morning, Baxter had no equal as a preacher, and yet Baxter, and men like him, continued to go to the national Church for example's sake to listen to the drivelling preaching of uneducated men, who spent most of the week in ale-houses. Baxter and Sir Matthew Hale used to sit in the same church listening to one of these men.

The King and his Parliament passed various other Acts which were intended to embarrass the Puritans and to bind them to acknowledge and to submit to any Act which the Church or State might advance. When at last a crisis, which bordered on revolution, was arrived at, the King published his famous Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against Dissenters and Roman Catholics, but this Declaration Parliament, now becoming suspicious of the King, voted illegal. The Commons suspected treachery, and

began to be afraid of the introduction of Popery. Accordingly a Bill was brought in for the relief of Dissenters, but the bishops opposed it. They were afraid that the Puritans might be brought back again to the Church. By the end of the reign of Charles II., the Papists were so powerful and the Puritans so weak, that the latter were prepared to take any step to regain their influence. The Church and the State were pliable in the hands of the King and his Court. Religion was decayed. The two thousand pulpits rendered vacant by the ejection of the Puritans were filled with men of little learning and less morals. Education was neglected. Cambridge and Oxford had very few students. If ignorance and indifference were favourable to the restoration of the Romish Church, it had at this time the best possible prospects. These prospects became still greater after the death of Charles II. and the accession of James II., who was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and who, the Protestants of England had reason to fear, would complete the restoration of the Romish Church, which his predecessor so assiduously worked for. The Church again took alarm, and was more lenient and more ready to show signs of a desire to have the Dissenters back, but as soon as the panic passed away, the old spirit of animosity began to manifest itself. The King sought to secure liberty for his Catholic subjects by procuring liberty for the Protestants. This act of toleration, so agreeable to the latter in many respects, was rejected on the ground that it was meant to strengthen the Romish Church. At this juncture, the King and the High Church party quarrelled, and he sought the help of the Dissenters. He invited them to publish far and wide their treatment at the hands of the Church for nearly ninety years. A large sum of money was offered by him, poor as he was, for a record of the persecution of the Puritans since the Restoration, which record was in the possession of one of their

ministers, but the bribe was rejected. Thus failing to be supported either by the Church or by the Dissenters, and disinclined to follow the example of his brother, Charles II., by taking up arms, the King fled across the seas and so ended a dynasty of which the later Kings were consistent only in the persistent determination to restore England to the Papacy.

After the Revolution Settlement, a further effort was made —the last effort—to restore the Puritans to the national Church. A Bill of Comprehension was introduced into the House of Lords and passed. It was so framed as to give sufficient liberty of conscience regarding ceremonies, government, and doctrine, and was meant as a stepping stone to union, but it was thrown out of the House of Commons by the High Church party, aided strangely enough by the Liberal party amongst the Puritans, who maintained that if the Dissenters returned to the established Church, they would all become Tories, and the cause of Liberalism would suffer and possibly die; so the last effort to restore the Puritans to the Church of England was defeated by themselves on political grounds.

Satisfied with the Toleration Act, which received the royal assent May 24th, 1689, the Nonconformists ceased to strive for union with the national Church. The controversy of the seventeenth century between Conformists and Nonconformists died. The Church of the Puritans slumbered until roused by the voice of John Wesley, the grandson of one of the ministers ejected from the national Church by the Act of Uniformity. So ended for a time the struggle for religious and political liberty which marked one of the most eventful periods of English history. It began with Elizabeth, a sovereign who, though chargeable with many faults which tended to favour Roman Catholicism, was yet a Protestant at heart, and upon the whole advanced the interest of the Protestant cause. It ended with a true

Protestant King and Queen, under whose reign the last attempt to restore the Puritans to the national Church failed.

The four reigning sovereigns of the Stuart dynasty aimed by various methods and under various forms to root out Puritanism. They were persistently supported by a large Roman Catholic faction, now in the State, now in the Church, and sometimes in both, and without doubt the end aimed at would have been accomplished but for the noble patriotism and the persistent, indomitable effort of the Puritans, which found their climax and triumph in the Commonwealth, and procured for liberty in the Church and State a habitation and a name.

Francis Bacon, in recording his judgment on the Puritan controversy, condemns the Puritans for thinking that the further they receded from Rome the nearer they drew to the truth. He strongly disapproved of their action in seeking violently to intrude upon the Church the government and practices of foreign churches, for calling themselves zealous, sincere, reformed, and those who differed from them mere moralists guided only by carnal wisdom, not better than Socrates and such heathen philosophers; but he blamed the bishops for refusing to alter anything, for offering no Bills in Parliament for the Reformers, for urging so many things that were controverted, for charging the Puritans as seditious, for compelling men to swear to things uncertain, and for urging subscription to their own articles.

"To what quarters in the bright historic firmament," says John Morley, "can we turn our eyes with such certainty of being stirred and elevated and of thinking better of human life and the worth of those who have been most deeply penetrated by its seriousness, as to the annals of the intrepid spirits whom the Protestant doctrines of indefeasible, personal responsibility brought to the front in Germany in the sixteenth century and in England and Scotland in the

seventeenth?" The bold spirits thus referred to by Morley stand in close intellectual and moral relationship to ourselves; for the United Kingdom is to-day what the battlings of the seventeenth century made it, and those who know England well affirm that, after all superficial changes, and in spite of ritualistic revivals, broad Church ecclesiastics, and Nonconformist forebodings, the backbone of the population continues Puritan and Biblical.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Thomas Cranmer.

One can scarcely dissociate in one's mind the beginnings of the English Reformation from Henry VIII. and his reign, more especially on account of the many important results arising from his brawl with Rome over the question of his divorce of Catherine of Aragon. The conduct of Henry in this, as in many other cruel and inhuman acts of his reign, must to a large extent be judged in the light of the spirit and policy of his age. But, after making full allowance, the plea advanced by him of a tender conscience as to the legality of his marriage must be accepted by the ordinary mind with considerable reservation. It was not till after fifteen years of married life of apparently mutual agreement and happiness, that Henry's conscience showed any signs of tenderness regarding his marriage. It is quite possible that by that time the want of male issue and the loss by death of all his family of five, save Mary, may have weighed with him in coming to the conclusion that, according to Scripture, the curse of God was upon him for having married his brother's widow. But it is not without significance that, simultaneous with his pious turn of mind, there was on his part unmistakeable evidence of an unlawful passion for one of the ladies of his Court, the young and gay Anne Boleyn. The fact was that he had got tired of Catherine, and ceased to treat her as his wife.

If Pope Pius III. could issue a bull declaring the legality of his marriage, surely Pope Clement VII. could issue another declaring its illegality, and to no one could the

King intrust this matter with greater confidence than to Cardinal Wolsey, who was more than glad to avail himself of the opportunity of revenge on Charles V., the nephew of Queen Catherine, for having more than once deceived and disappointed him in his aspirations after the Papal chair. Nor can there be any doubt that, but for political reasons pertaining to the Emperor and the Empire, the Pope would have conceded Henry's request. But finding himself obliged to offend either Charles or Henry, the Pontiff decided upon the policy of deceit and delay, which at last so enraged the King that he determined to dispense with the Pope's permission and adopt other means towards his end. Already the Universities had decided by a small majority that the marriage, according to canon law, was illegal, but a new suggestion was made to Henry's almoner, Edward Fox, and to his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, that the Universities should be requested to declare whether or not the marriage was legal according to the Word of God, not according to canon law. For if the Word of God forbade the marriage, the Pope had no right to sanction it, nor in that case was it necessary to obtain his permission to dissolve it. This suggestion did not originate with the two officials of the King; it was made to them by an old Cambridge fellow-student whom they accidentally encountered at Waltham Abbey. That fellow-student was Thomas Cranmer. This incident brought him to the notice of the King, who said, "Marry, I will surely speak with him. Let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that that man has the right sow by the ear." From this time, Thomas Cranmer and his services played a most important part in the reign of Henry and that of his immediate successors. It is interesting, therefore, to know something about the man.

He was of Norman extraction, though the original seat of his family was Lincolnshire, where, at the end of the sixteenth century, there was still a mansion house called

Cranmer's Hall, with the arms of Cranmer seen in the windows. The arms were originally three cranes which, however, the King changed into three pelicans representing thereby a sign of Cranmer's readiness to shed his blood for the children of the faith. "For you are likely to be tested," he said prophetically, "if you stand to your tackling!" At Ashlockton, in Nottinghamshire, a large and rich property brought into his family by marriage, the future archbishop was born on 21st July, 1489. He was the second son of Thomas and Agnes Cranmer, the sixth in a family of seven. In his school days Thomas experienced the not uncommon severity of the unsparing lash of the dominie, a rude parish clerk. Cranmer afterwards complained that he appalled, dulled, and daunted the tender and fine wits of his scholars, and said that for his part he lost in his youth much of that benefit of memory and audacity that by nature was given unto him and which he could never afterwards recover. This despotism of his early school days may have helped to produce the vacillating policy of the closing days of his life.

At the age of fourteen, he was enrolled as a student of Queen's College, Cambridge. After having applied himself for six or seven years to the crudest kind of sophistry, logic, natural and moral philosophy, he gave himself up to the study of Faber, Erasmus, Calvin, and Luther. There can be little doubt that he came under the spell of the teaching of Erasmus (Erasmus was at this time lecturing in Cambridge), if not under the influence of his personality; for the time at which, he says himself, he had begun to study the Scriptures, 1516, was the date of the publication of Erasmus' Greek Testament. That he did not at the time intend to enter holy orders is evident from the fact that "it chanced him to marry a wife," as Ralph Morris says. By this act of indiscretion, he lost his fellowship; but his wife unfortunately dying a year afterwards, it was restored

to him by the goodwill and unanimous vote of his fellow-students. In 1520 he was elected and ordained, and became University preacher and lecturer. A few years later his reputation had become so well established that Wolsey offered him a canonry in his new college at Oxford, an offer, however, which he declined.

When deploring the death of his patron, Archbishop Warham, Erasmus consoled himself inasmuch as the archbishop's place was taken up by Thomas Cranmer, a professed theologian and a man of upright life. "I feel," he said, "that my friend Warham is not taken away from me, but is born again in Cranmer." Cranmer was twenty years the junior of Erasmus, a fact that may account for the lack of any account of special intercourse between them; but that he regarded him as his master in theology there can be little doubt. He continued preacher and lecturer in Cambridge till he was forty years of age, when he was discovered by King Henry, and made his facile tool to secure his divorce from Catherine. To this task Cranmer brought all the energy and subtle intellect of a highly developed mind, and by written treatises, by embassy to the Pope, by deputations to the Universities, home and foreign, secured sufficient evidence to satisfy the King and himself that the divorce was right and proper, and should forthwith take place. It is worthy of note that all the prominent reformers on the Continent, while they maintained that the marriage was wrong and illegal, nevertheless refused to express their approval of the divorce.

Owing to this circumstance in Henry's life, the supremacy of the Pope was denied, and the King and people of England refused to be controlled any longer by a foreign power. This was largely a political movement, and served the King a twofold purpose; it gratified his wishes regarding the divorce, and rid him of the grasping power of Rome, by which the realm was being impoverished. In England the

desire to be rid of foreign interference was by no means new. The spiritual supremacy of the Pope had been repeatedly challenged by the English people. The Kings of England had declared, over and over again, that no appeal should be taken from the English Courts to the Roman Curia. These declarations had taken the shape of legal enactments, and during the reign of Richard II. had grown into the famous Statute of Præmunire—a statute that made all appeals from an English law court to a foreign court of justice, whether Roman or other, liable to severe punishment.

This Act was enforced by Henry after the fall of Wolsey, when the complicity of the latter with the Pope, in delaying and frustrating the divorce proceedings, was discovered. Wolsey was accused of breaking the Statute of Præmunire by acting for the Pope as legate in England, and he and all the clergy were declared to have forfeited their whole ecclesiastical property as punishment for their crime. They saved their lives by paying £11,800 to the King, and by acknowledging his supremacy. It was with very great difficulty that this acknowledgment was made. The saving clause, "as far as the law of Christ permits," suggested by Cranmer, eased, however, the conscience of the Church, and satisfied the King. Much has been made of this clause as securing the liberties of the Church, and if the Church be the judge as to how far the law of Christ permits the supremacy of the King, something may be said in its favour; but it is questionable how far the Church of England exercised or was able to exercise this same right. In any case, it is certain that Henry claimed the right to interpret this clause, with the result that he made the law of Christ permit him to act after his own pleasure. This Act, called "The Submission of the Clergy" was agreed to by the Assembly or Convocation, and practically meant that the Church of England could make no law for its own guidance or government without the King's sanction or ratification.

Thus, in 1532, the Church of England renounced all allegiance to Rome, and acknowledged the King's supremacy, with the result that he had the right not only to make laws for her, but also to control her revenues. The King took the place of the Pope in England, and to show that he was as orthodox as His Holiness, an Act of Heresy was passed, which declared that heretics were to be burned as formerly. It was no heresy, however, to speak evil of the Pope. Parliament at the same time declared Mary, the daughter of Catherine, to be illegitimate, and Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, to be heir to the throne. Refusal to accept this declaration was punishable by death. By this Act of Heresy, which was practically meant to uphold the doctrine of "Transubstantiation," many perished on the scaffold. Leading men like Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who refused to take the oath of coronation and supremacy, were sentenced to death. The latter having been threatened by the King, who professed great admiration for his Chancellor, answered, "Threats are for children, not for men." Later, when his wife visited him in prison and begged him to yield, he replied, "Tell me, Mistress Alice, is not this house as nigh heaven as our own?" His daughter, Margaret Roper, famed for her learning, gentleness, and beauty, paid him a visit which seemed to strengthen him greatly. Erasmus, on hearing of his execution, wrote a brief obituary of him, in which he described him as "a soul purer than snow."

This great and gentle Sir Thomas More, the foremost scholar of England, did not, however, escape the contamination of the cruel and persecuting spirit of his age; for some of those who were persecuted for heresy were cruelly treated by him. Fryth, one of the noblest and most scholarly men of the time, was loaded with chains by his orders, and kept in prison for a long period. When released, he was tied to a tree in More's garden, called the "Tree of Truth." His

temples were bound about with cords to the effusion of blood, that he might be compelled to recant his heretical views on the sacraments. It is a poor shift to excuse More for this and similar acts of cruelty on the ground that he disapproved of the Reformation because of the ignorance and vulgarity of some of its leaders.

Thomas Cranmer, having succeeded Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury, was in close contact with the King. He had sometimes the courage to oppose him, but almost invariably yielded, and with good grace, to the most unreasonable claims, also giving his sanction to the most cruel deeds, persuading himself that the King must be right. No man, save Thomas Cromwell—who, like Wolsey, perished for not acting after the mind of the King—no man so thoroughly supported the royal supremacy in temporal and spiritual things as Thomas Cranmer, and no man exercised greater influence over the King. The simplicity and transparency of the archbishop enabled Henry fully to confide in him, and sometimes even to yield to his advice.

In virtue of the Act of the "Submission of the Clergy," the King was invested with the power of dealing with all religious houses. The monasteries, with their enormous wealth, presented a great temptation to Henry, whose extravagance had already squandered the great fortune his father had bequeathed him. His vicar-general, Cromwell, organised a committee to visit and examine the condition of these religious houses. The result of the cursory examination, for such it was, when presented to Parliament, was so appalling as to evoke the cry, "Down with the monasteries!"

The destruction of all houses with a yearly revenue less than £200 brought the King a vast amount of money, while, at the same time, it sent adrift multitudes of monks and others, who, for want of livelihood, became a peril to society, and of whom it is said that over ten thousand were executed

by the Government. If this act of destroying the monasteries did good in exposing the extent of the corruption of the Church, it did harm as well, not merely in leading to the wholesale executions of so many thousands, but also in filling vacancies in the Church with men not qualified for their position either by education or religious character, and yet that very evil ultimately did its share in advancing the interests of the Reformation.

Cranmer, in virtue of his position as primate of England, exercised great influence over the clergy, and no statesman or churchman had, as we have said, so much power over the King. This twofold influence Cranmer used to good purpose in the interest of the Reformation. In spite of the opposition of the Romish party led by Gardiner, the able successor of Cromwell, he secured permission for an English translation of the Bible. The King, who had pursued Tyndale to Holland, who had captured, strangled, and burned him for his translation of the New Testament, now permitted that translation to be used by Miles Coverdale to help him in his commission to produce an English translation of the whole Bible. The bishops were previously asked to furnish a translation, which they failed to do, either from want of will or from lack of ability, Cranmer remarking that one might expect it to be forthcoming on the day after doomsday. A copy of the new Bible of Coverdale was ordered to be placed in every parish church.

In addition to the translation of the Bible into English which the influence of Cranmer secured, there was framed an English Liturgy, which, in the following reign, developed into the Book of Common Prayer. This was perhaps the greatest of Cranmer's works, and is a lasting monument to his memory; for the Book of Common Prayer to-day is, with very few changes, the product of Cranmer's masterly pen. The English Litany was also composed by Cranmer, and, in 1544, was authorised to be sung in the parish

churches. Two years later appeared the ten articles of doctrine, which, although very much in line with the Roman Catholic doctrines, were yet a considerable gain. The *Institution of a Christian Man* was an explanation and development of the ten articles, and was a further advance on Reformation lines. This was known as the bishop's book. It was not, however, in favour with the King, and did not secure his assent. There was now rather a change in the policy of the King, and he became less favourable to further advance in the direction of reformation. He began indeed to repent of what he had already permitted, and forced Parliament to pass his six famous articles, which practically restored matters to their original condition. The Romish doctrine, in all its vital claims, was again accepted by Parliament and Convocation, though much against the mind and pleading of Cranmer. The *Erudition of a Christian Man* was at the same time written by the King as an amplification of the "Six Articles."

Henry VIII. was an extraordinary mixture. One cannot well know whether he excelled more in writing theological books, giving subtle expositions of the doctrine of Scotus and Occam on the sacraments, or in the policy of diverting from the Church her wealth and her power, which he employed for his own selfish ends while doing everything under the guise of high principle and religious motives.

By both Protestants and Papists, Henry VIII. has been greatly blamed. It may be that his vices, which were by no means few, are kept more prominently in the foreground, while his good qualities, which were neither few nor small, are thrown into the shade. There were far worse characters in history who are made to appear in colours not nearly so dark. Decidedly, Henry compares favourably with his two great contemporaries, Francis I. and Charles V. He was selfish and sensual, but not more more so than the French King. His scaffolds strike and startle us more than the

thousands of victims of Charles V., but that is because they stand out in high relief, and because the victims, in the most glaring cases, were of his own household and his own personal friends. Henry was without doubt a great sovereign. He devised great measures, and carried them out with a strong hand. Among his greatest measures, and those which more especially advanced the Reformation, were his freeing of England from the yoke of foreign tyranny to make her mistress of herself, his restoration of the Bible to that moral supremacy which is the bulwark of conscience, and the arrest of the gangrene of the monastic system which was eating up the prosperity and the allegiance of the nation. Cranmer evidently felt that England at the time had urgent need of a strong man as ruler. It is difficult to reconcile his persistent effort to support the King's supremacy with his other liberal and advanced views. It may be that he accepted it as an interim arrangement, not as a final settlement. In any case, the wonderful co-operation maintained between the pure and noble-minded primate and the head-strong and blood-stained monarch resulted in a greater blessing to England. Possibly the Reformation would have taken place without either of them. There were at work prior to and during the time of Henry other forces, bad and good, that would have led up to a greater and a better Reformation.

The infidelity and atheism of the famous House of the Medici, notwithstanding its great erudition, the extreme wickedness of the Popes which found its climax in the accession of Alexander Borgia to the Papal chair, and the utter corruption into which the Church as a whole had sunk, were bound to produce a reaction. The spark of moral enthusiasm kindled in Italy by the trumpet-tongued Savonarola had its counterpart kindled in England by one of her greatest preachers, Latimer, and also by prominent men like Fryth and Ridley. The effects of the writings

and teaching of Erasmus were felt not less in Britain than across the seas. The great wave of Protestant awakening from Germany and France touched our shores. The writings of Calvin and Luther were read by priest and people. John Knox, with the dourness and tenacity peculiar to his nature, was one of the many itinerant preachers in the larger counties of England, and found his way into the counsels of some of the leading men of the realm. The Greek Testament of Erasmus, with its incisive notes and comments, was read by the learned and religious of the land. Tyndale was sending his New Testament in English across from Hamburg to England, and thousands of copies were smuggled into the larger sea-ports. The burning of these in heaps before St. Paul's by the bishop of London excited only an intenser desire to possess new copies, and the money which purchased the books for the flames supplied the publisher with larger funds to issue a new and improved edition. All these and a hundred more favourable forces would have produced in course of time perhaps a greater and a better reformation than that brought about by Henry and Cranmer. But we have to deal not with what might have been, but with what in reality did happen. Our history leaves us no room for doubt as to the part played by these two, and as to the importance of many of the Acts and measures in Henry's reign—Acts and measures in the the moulding of which Cranmer took a leading part—in their bearing upon the advancement of the Reformation. In all probability, the Reformation would have taken place in England without Henry and Cranmer, and the Church would have been as much purer without the supremacy and patronage of the King, as the early Church without the similar rights of Constantine.

In the reign of Henry, the Reformation movement was sufficiently vigorous, but the field in which the "Defender of the Faith" had allowed its scope was limited. He dealt

merely with the Pope, the clergy, and the temporalities. The phase of reformation that commenced after his death was the arrangement and revision of religion, doctrine, and practice. Cranmer, whose hand was shown in this work, was a prominent member of the Protectorate. It can scarcely be said that the uncle of the young King Edward, Henry's son and successor, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, his brother, the Lord High Admiral, or indeed any of the prominent members of the new Government, save Cranmer himself, was characterised by any great and good quality. It is very probable that the temporal benefits to be obtained by espousing the Reformation cause weighed more with them than the spiritual and the moral. This was true not less in England than in Scotland, where the "Lords of the Congregation" became to a large extent lords of the land also. Independently of its motives, however, the action of the new Government forwarded the interests of the Reformation. Both the Government and the Church, the Parliament and the Convocation repealed the Six Articles Act and the Treason Act of the latter part of Henry's reign. The Communion was restored in both kinds, and relief was granted from the law enjoining clerical celibacy. This last must have been agreeable to Cranmer, who had some years before to send away his second wife.

The first set of articles of doctrine in the previous reign was a considerable compromise between the extreme Romanists and the Protestants, and it rendered admirable service. Cranmer was without doubt a great ecclesiastic, and his constant policy was, as far as possible, to conserve unity.

In the reign of Edward, the Puritan party took its rise. Many of the eminent men who fled to Germany and Geneva because of the persecution of Henry returned during the more favourable reign of his son. These men, having become

accustomed to the plainer worship of the Reformed Church, influenced also by the stern teaching of Calvin, rebelled against the ritual of the English Church, which, in their opinion, savoured too much of priestcraft and the Mass.

A new set of Articles, the Forty-two Articles, had specially in view the pacification of these Puritans. All the discontent was not confined to them however. The Romish priests complained much of the advance of the Reformation, and seldom lost an opportunity of declaiming against the movement. To suppress this evil, Cranmer issued his twelve Homilies. The parish priests were forbidden to preach after their own fashion, and were restricted to reading these homilies, which were carefully prepared, and presented an exposition of some of the leading doctrines of the Reformation, such as Justification by Faith and the Sacraments. In addition to these homilies, German pamphlets were largely circulated, and uniformity of worship based upon the Book of Common Prayer was adopted. On the question of the sacraments, the words in the homilies and in the Mass books were so ambiguously arranged that they might be used by those who held by the doctrines of consubstantiation and transubstantiation as well as by those who believed in the mystical presence according to the Calvinistic teaching.

In all these measures, Cranmer was true to his ideal—a broad Catholic Church embracing all shades of belief. In his opinion, the Church should refuse to pronounce dogmatically where reason and Scripture were inconclusive, or to affirm an infallible interpretation. For those who held that the only alternative to the infallibility of Rome was the infallibility of Geneva, such a result was satisfactory. By this policy the unity of the Church was so far preserved.

It is a curious fact, and one of considerable interest, that in the ordination service which had been issued as an *addendum* to the Prayer Book in 1550, a part which was

considered in the Romish Church most essential, and, indeed, indispensable to the ordination and the Apostolic succession, was left out. That part or ceremony was the handling of the chalice and the paten. Possibly it was not the intention of the service to convey the succession; and Cranmer himself, during Henry's reign, had given it as his opinion that the King could appoint clergy without the recognised rites. Yet it would appear that Cranmer and the more conservative authorities believed in the Apostolic succession. It was by a very long process and a persistent effort that Cranmer was led to disbelieve in the Mass, but when once he changed his view, he took care to hold by the new one, and this change of view is carefully noted in his Prayer Book in the words, "Take, eat, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in your heart by faith; drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee and be thankful." Through the influence of John Knox, a rubric was added to the effect that the posture of kneeling assumed at the celebration of the Lord's Supper was no adoration of the elements. This rubric was added after Cranmer refused to abandon the kneeling posture. The doctrine and worship of the Church were thus far fixed by the authorised homilies, the Books of Common Prayer and Liturgy. The Church services were now conducted in English, and psalms were sung before and after sermon or homily.

At the point when this advance was reached, and greater advance anticipated, the young King Edward died after a brief but progressive reign of four years. By the accession of Mary, a terrible re-action took place. The Government of the new sovereign was as Roman Catholic as its predecessor had been Protestant. Sweeping measures were passed, repealing not only all the Acts of the previous reign favourable to the Reformation, but also the Acts of Henry on the royal supremacy and the submission of the clergy. The

Papal authority was restored, and England thrown back at least fifty years. The fact that this could be done so easily, and in so short a time, proves how little hold, after all, the principles of the Reformation had upon the conscience of the nation. It would indeed appear that even yet the work of the Reformation was largely external, and not of an internal or radical kind.

As might be expected, the members, especially the leaders, of the preceding Government were either banished or executed. Cranmer would have shared the fate of the rest, especially on the charge of his signing the Act sanctioning the succession of Lady Jane Grey, and declaring both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate; but he gave a satisfactory proof that he did so by compulsion and tears; this, together with the fact that he saved the life of Queen Mary when her own father would have added her to the rest of his victims, induced the Queen to save his life. When, however, shortly after, he wrote a strong protest against the Mass, which he was falsely alleged to have attended, he was cast into the Tower.

The first victim of this Marian persecution was Rogers in the year 1555. He was probably the author of Matthew's Bible, which was authorised by King Henry for public use. From this time the persecution continued increasing in fury as the reign went on. In less than four years no fewer than three hundred Protestants perished in the flames, and eight hundred of England's best sons were banished. The moving spirit in all this was the Queen, who, it would appear, was actuated by a dreadful conviction that it was her fearful duty to save the souls of her people by purging the nation by fire, and she did so, actuated only by the promptings of conscience. The martyrs of Mary's reign were burned uncompromisingly for religion, pure and simple, their views upon the sacrament being especially taken into account.

The crucial question was whether the body and blood of Christ were in the sacrament, and if transubstantiation was not accepted, the victims were consigned to the flames. It was impossible for a man like Cranmer, whose views were so pronounced on these questions, to be passed over, even although the Queen at first granted him a reprieve.

Cranmer's last confessions and recantations introduce us to the blackest chapter in his history, indeed, to one of the blackest chapters in the history of the Christian faith. His submission again and again to the demands of his persecutors was most abject. The man who, but a few months before, had so boldly called upon Christendom to step in and judge between himself and the Pope, now signs a fulsome lamentation for having sinned worse than Saul, the persecutor and blasphemer, and worse than the crucified robber; he declares that he was the cause of the divorce of the Queen, that he had opened the windows to all the heresies. He signed a number of copies of these recantations and submissions. The Queen was always anxious that good and godly sermons should be preached at the burning of the heretics; she accordingly instructed Bishop Cole, the Pope's legate, to preach at Cranmer's stake. When the bishop told him that he must not live, he received the announcement calmly, and besought the former's good offices with the Queen on behalf of his son, and wept when he spoke of him. It is difficult to see how Cranmer could have so calmly received the news of his approaching doom when he must have known that it was monstrous and unheard of to put a man to death for opinions which he solemnly renounced. If he thought and believed that, notwithstanding his submission and recantation, he would be put to death, it must be equally difficult to account for his conduct; and yet it is possible to conceive how one, urged by the fear of death, might be induced to say and do much against his convictions. But if his abject recantations meant only an effort to pur-

chase his life, what value can we attach to his dying testimony? We can hardly praise a man for acknowledging God as an apparent last resort after he has failed to save himself by denying and dishonouring Him.

It is not, however, quite fair to judge Cranmer on such issues. Due consideration must be given to the spirit of the age and the circumstances of the case. When one thinks on his loneliness and of the lack of that sympathy for which his nature craved, when one remembers the state of his health and the fact that he was deprived of all his friends (the burning of some of whom, such as Latimer and Ridley, he had witnessed from his prison window), it is not to be wondered at that his mind as well as his body should yield, and one can account, to some extent at least, for his utter abandonment on such grounds and on the supposition that he believed himself forsaken by God and man.

After all the disgrace that clouded his closing days, Cranmer's sun went down in splendour. On the morning of his martyrdom, after a sound and pleasing sleep, he partook of a cheerful meal, and seemed to go forward to his ordeal in the strength of a fixed resolution. A ring and a message were brought to him from a sister who had remained faithful to her reformation principles, and these seemed to have a powerful effect upon his wavering mind. "Fear not," he said to his jailor, "it was God who bent my thoughts and opinions at the beginning, and I trust He will complete the building He has begun." As Bishop Cole was preaching, Cranmer was seen to be deeply impressed. It was not, however, by the words of the preacher, but by the inspiration which came to him in answer to prayer. If ever a man gave genuine proof of his sorrow for his sin, Cranmer did on that memorable morning. He most emphatically renounced all submissions and recantations. He declared he yielded to the temptation and signed the documents for fear of death. "And this unworthy hand," he said, holding

out his right arm, "that so basely signed those papers, shall first be burned." And when the fire was kindled, he thrust it forth into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body. When his hand was thus seen burning by everybody, he cried, "This is the hand that offended." "Cranmer's courage in dying," says a Papist, "if it had been for the glory of God and the weal of his country or the testimony of the truth, I could have worthily considered the example and ranked it with the fame of any father of ancient time."

Whatever judgment men may pass on Cranmer's weakness under the pressure of the circumstances that preceded his death, there can be but one opinion as to the unparalleled splendour of his final actions; as he lived, so he died, for the welfare of England. He lived, he laboured, he perished for the independence of the English Crown, for the freedom of the English Church from an intolerable foreign yoke, for the English Bible, and the English service. He did this with untiring and unostentatious diligence, and, considering the difficulties of his task, with few mistakes.

Those who cannot appreciate all Cranmer's acts and opinions may be thankful to the divine providence which at an important crisis in the history of England, set him in his high place. A man of a more rigid mind would have succumbed under the strain which he endured, and the interests and prospects of Protestantism would have been greatly imperilled.

It was not till after the death of both Cranmer and Queen Mary that the fire of the Reformation penetrated England. The movement had been hitherto, to a large extent at least, external. The work of its leaders consisted largely in repealing old Acts of Parliament and Convocation, and framing new ones; in setting up an organisation, in writing creeds and doctrines and liturgies, and in circulating the Bible and religious books, as well as preaching the Evangel.

All these had their weight and influence, but it was the fire and the scaffolds of bloody Mary that quickened the conscience and roused the spirit of the nation. The sense of a great wrong was created by seeing the best men and best women burnt or banished. To see, shed like water, the blood of the noblest of the land, to witness their heroic faith, their superhuman patience, their steadfast endurance, converted the Reformation into a spiritual reality and a spiritual force that told morally and intellectually upon the life of the nation; and that life was caught up and moulded in a marvellous way by Queen Elizabeth, whose great wisdom, clear head, and strong hand appreciated, marked out, and carried forward Cranmer's plan and policy during her long, vigorous, and prosperous reign.

CHAPTER XXX.

William the Silent.

The Netherlands, which formed a most valuable portion of the great Empire of Charles V., were nearly co-extensive with the territory at present included in Belgium and Holland. From their geographical position they could not possibly remain unaffected by the great Reformation movement. On the south side were the Lutherans of Germany, the French Huguenots pressed them on the west, and by the ocean they held communication with England and the nations of the Baltic.

In 1555, the grandest and most spacious hall in Brussels was filled to its utmost capacity by the most brilliant assembly that the Netherlands could produce. The gorgeous platform was occupied by royalty and its customary attendants. The central figure of attraction was an old man, crippled in hands, knees, and legs, supporting himself with difficulty upon crutches. "The hair once of light colour was now white with age, close clipped and bristling, the beard grey and shaggy, and the forehead large and commanding. He was about the middle height, and fifty-five years of age. The decrepit, prematurely old man leaned upon the shoulder of a tall, handsome youth of twenty-two. His head was small, well-shaped, and well placed upon his shoulders, his hair dark brown, his forehead lofty, his eyes full, brown, well-opened, and expressing profound reflection. By the side of these two stood a small, meagre man, much below the middle height, with thin legs and narrow chest, and the shrinking, timid air of an habitual invalid. He had a

hanging lip, with a vast mouth and prominently protruding jaw."

The first mentioned of the royal personages was Charles V., the ruler of the greatest empire in the world at that time. The small man by his side was his son, Philip II., in whose favour he that day abdicated the crowns of the Netherlands, Spain, and the Indies, and whose single will was for the future to shape the fortunes of many millions in Europe, America, and the ends of the earth. The handsome young man upon whose shoulders Charles leaned, and whose name from that time forward, and as long as history shall endure, has been, and will be more familiar than any other in the mouths of the Netherlanders, was William the Silent, Prince of Orange. Charles, who next year resigned his Imperial Crown to his brother Ferdinand, retired to a monastery where he died, within twelve months, of a fever produced by the excitement occasioned by the excessive practice of religious austerities.

The fortunes of the Netherlands for weal or for woe were largely in the hands of these two young royal personages—Philip II. and William the Silent—as different and as far apart in soul and spirit as they were in personal appearance.

The Netherlands were being prepared for long for such a movement as the Lutheran Reformation. They had been the scene of the labours of Gerhard Groot, the mediæval founder of the ragged schools and orphan homes. Thomas à Kempis, John Wessel, John Goch, and other reformers before the Reformation all belonged to the Netherlands. The Bible, first the New Testament, afterwards the whole Bible, was translated into the native language and disseminated amongst the people. Preachers from Germany and France, and teachers from England spread the new doctrine far and wide. The people were ready to receive the new light. Educated in advance of most countries, they were of an intelligent and enquiring mind. "Even in the Frisian fishermen's

huts," says one historian, "you might find people who could not only read and write, but could discuss scriptural interpretations as if they were scholars."

Having failed by his imperial edicts to crush the Reformation in Germany, Charles proclaimed them in the Netherlands as early as 1523. Twenty-two years previous to this date, two Augustinian monks, Henrid Voes and Johann Esch, were burned at Brussels, being the first martyrs of the Reformation. Luther composed a hymn in their honour, entitled, "A song of the two martyrs of Christ in Brussels, burned by the Sophists of Louvain." Although Charles introduced into the Netherlands the Inquisition of Spain, his numerous engagements in foreign wars prevented him from making it effective, and the Regents who represented him were too lenient to do so. What they failed to do, his son, Philip II., to whom his father gave that Inquisition, did to perfection. He made it the aim of his life to carry out the edict of the Inquisition. A visit to his new dominion convinced Philip II. of the hold the heretical doctrine had secured upon the people. The Regency, which should by right and by consent of the people, have been given to the nobles, and to none more fittingly than to William of Orange, was given to Philip's half-sister, Margaret of Parma, who, he knew, would give absolute submission to his will. Philip set before him, as the chief aim of his life, to reduce the Netherlands to absolute slavery, politically and ecclesiastically. To begin with, he put the wires of the government of the country in the hands of Margaret and of three other creatures of his own, Viglius, Berlaymont, and Cardinal Granvelle, the son of an advocate whom Charles promoted. The four bishops in the Netherlands were increased by fourteen, with Cardinal Granvelle as Primate, to enable him to put the Inquisition in force, and Spanish soldiers which were on the borders of the country on war expedition were retained in the Netherlands ostensibly to

watch the French, but in reality to be ready for the purposes of the Inquisition. So Philip laid his plans to crush the political and religious liberties of his free-minded subjects in the Netherlands, as his father and predecessors did in Spain.

This monstrously wicked undertaking he, however, found more difficult of execution than he at first anticipated. He found William, the young Prince of Orange, the chief hindrance in his way. When afterwards the nobles were caught in a trap and imprisoned, Granvelle, the King's right hand man, exclaimed, "Alva has accomplished nothing, as he failed to seize the Prince of Orange."

William the Silent was the son of William the Rich—"rich," says the historian Motley, "only in children, for he had seven sons and seven daughters." His mother, Juliana of Stolberg, was a woman of exemplary character and unaffected piety, and deserves a foremost place amongst the mothers of great men. At eleven years of age he became heir to the titles of the vast estates of his rich cousin, René of Nassau. William's parents were Lutheran Protestants, and Charles determined that the heir to such wealth and power should not be brought up in that faith he so much detested, and so he had the young prince educated in Brussels according to the Catholic faith. At the age of fifteen, he was held in the highest esteem by the Emperor, and was his intimate friend. His great talents and wisdom not only won for him the Emperor's favour as a personal friend, but secured for him a high position in the State. At twenty-one he was appointed General-in-chief of the army in the French territory. The admirable manner in which he acquitted himself justified his appointment. William was one of four hostages who accompanied King Henry of France in connection with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, which concluded peace between Spain and France.

One day, accompanying the King in the chase, when they

were thrown together for some time, the King, thinking that he was in Philip II.'s secrets of State, revealed to him the plot of himself and the Spanish monarch to exterminate all their Protestant subjects, a plot which fourteen years afterwards was put into execution in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1572. "I will not feel myself safe on my throne," said Henry, "till all these Protestant vermin are destroyed." Though appalled by the fiendish plot thus divulged, William did not betray by word or look that he was not in the secret. He kept his counsel to himself in this as in other matters, and was for that reason called William the Silent.

From this time dates his determination to save his countrymen from the ruin so determinedly planned for them by their King. Indeed for years William knew all the King's plans. He was in secret communication with Philip's secretary, who often secured the keys from the King's pockets, opened his desk, and made himself acquainted with his most private schemes, which knowledge he communicated to the Prince of Orange. This was ultimately discovered, and the culprit was torn to pieces between four horses.

Meanwhile the Inquisition began to act in earnest amongst the Netherlanders. Anyone found reading the Bible or any of the books of Luther or other reformers, or in any way suspected of heresy, was apprehended and put to death. Peter Titelmann was executioner. His power was boundless and his cruelty indescribable. He was backed by local authority, instigated by the bishop. Men, women, and children were seized, strangled, sawn, and hacked by swords, and others were burned alive in hundreds. A certain schoolmaster was accused of reading the Bible. He was not allowed to be tried before his fellow citizens. When he refused to recant, "Do you not love your wife and children?" asked the demoniac Titelmann. "God knows," replied the

victim, "Were the whole world gold and mine, I would give it all to have them with me, even to live on bread and water, and in bondage, but I cannot deny my God for wife, children, and all the world." He was strangled and thrown into the flames. Walter Kapell was accused of heretical opinions. He was a man of property, and very kind to the poor. As he was being bound to the stake, a poor idiot, often fed by him, shouted out, "Ye are bloody murderers; that man has done no wrong, but has given me bread to eat." With these words he cast himself into the flames to perish with his benefactor, but he was rescued by some of the bystanders. A day or two thereafter, he made his way to the stake, picked up the skeleton of his friend, carried it on his shoulders through the streets to the chamber where his murderers were seated in council, forced his way into their presence, and, throwing his gruesome burden at their feet, exclaimed, "You have eaten the flesh, now eat his bones!" No wonder although such acts of hideous cruelty roused the country into revolt.

Five hundred of the more daring of the nobles united themselves into a league to protect their fellow citizens against the Spanish Inquisition. Three hundred of these waited in deputation on the Regent Margaret, the Duchess of Parma. After the interview, which was not very cordial, Berlaymont, one of the government trio, exclaimed in wrath and derision, "This troop of beggars should have been driven down the stair more rapidly than they came up." At a banquet held by these three hundred deputies immediately thereafter, their leader, Brederode, rose and said, "They call us beggars—we accept the name, and we pledge ourselves to resist the Inquisition and to keep true to the King, and the beggar's wallet." The name became historic. Thousands donned the leather sack of the wandering beggar, banded themselves together, and took up arms to defend their country.

Great conventicles were held, and field preaching was encouraged and protected by the Beggars' League, and the doctrine of the reformers spread, but, as might be expected, confusion and excesses followed. In their fanaticism, the crowds made outrages on private property, destroyed images and churches, and the finest work of art in these churches. The Beggars increased in number, and took to the sea. Afterwards, at the suggestion of William, they began to organise, and ultimately developed a powerful fleet that crushed the Spaniards in the northern parts.

The Regent Margaret was compelled to withdraw the Inquisition and proclaim toleration. For this reason, Philip II., in his rage, withdrew her from the Netherlands, and established the bloody Duke of Alva in her place. He was a distinguished general, but a man who revelled in the most bloody cruelties. With Alva's reign began the civil war in the Netherlands. His first act was to ensnare the leading nobles by inviting them in the most cordial fashion to a great banquet. William of Orange suspected treachery, and refused. Egmont and Horn went, against many warnings. After dinner, at which Egmont was again warned, but in vain, they were both apprehended and cast into prison. No man deserved better of the King than Egmont. When he delivered up his sword, he said, "This weapon did some service to the King." Few swords did more, yet this was now the reward of his loyalty. If the Inquisition under Margaret and Granvelle (who had to be recalled for the excessive use of it) was bad, it was now a hundred-fold worse. During the first three months of Alva's reign, eighteen hundred Protestants were put to death. The Inquisition demanded that no quarter be given to suspected heretics. Alva's Council of Blood, which decided the execution—for it was taken out of the hands of the lawyers, who took up too much time with proof—sat from morning

till night. He himself decided the cases; no proof was necessary.

If a man had large estates, he was certain to be found guilty of heresy. Alva promised his King "to make wealth run feet deep from the Netherlands into the Spanish Treasury." If he did not succeed, as he did not, it was not his fault. To be brought up before the Council of Blood was a sure way to death and confiscation of goods. It was said that one of the judges, whose consent was formally necessary in the disposing of each case, used to fall asleep through weariness. When called to his duty, he would rub his eyes, and, half awake, half asleep, cry out, "To the gallows! To the gallows!" No one was set at liberty. If the accused refused to recant, they were burned alive. If they recanted, they were granted the privilege of being first strangled, and then cast into the flames.

During Alva's eight years' reign of terror, it is said that a hundred thousand men and women were tortured by the Inquisition, slain and butchered. At one time five hundred were dragged out of their beds at midnight, and most cruelly executed. To prevent their suffering cries being heard, the victims' tongues were run through with an iron ring, then seared with red hot irons till they became swollen. The cruel persecutors made merry at the hissing groans arising from the poor victims' tortures. Nothing could be more appalling than the fiendish cruelties perpetrated upon the innocent by Alva, with the approval of the King; and yet in their letters they speak of their mild treatment and clemency towards "these heretics." But even Alva's blood-thirstiness could not rival that of his master. On learning of the butcheries that followed the conquest of Haarlem, he wrote with bitterness against the clemency of an edict which enacted that his Protestant subjects should be simply hanged instead of being burned.

It is not surprising to learn of the unspeakably terrible

desolation and destruction brought upon a country by such diabolical proceedings. It is not surprising to find that the most prosperous country of the age was reduced to utter ruin. The fisheries of Holland were the most prolific then known. The cattle fattened on the plains of Flanders were the best in Europe. "There were two hundred and eighty walled cities within the provinces, and every city swarmed like a bee-hive." Antwerp had become what Venice ceased to be, the commercial capital of Christendom, and every day in the year about five hundred vessels entered and quitted its famous port. An army of one hundred thousand mechanics abode in Ghent. Trades of all kinds flourished, so did the arts. Many eminent painters even then appeared —those indeed who founded the school which gave birth to such men as Peter Paul Rubens, and Anthony Vandyck. At the news of Alva's approach, thirty thousand skilled artisans had emigrated to England. The reign of terror reached its height when a sentence of the holy office was published, which condemned to death all the inhabitants of the Province, with few exceptions, surely the most concise death warrant ever pronounced upon a people. Women were violated, men shot down like dogs, and great cities reduced to ashes, and the most splendid civilization in Europe blackened and effaced. Thus did the most Catholic King manifest his most horrible constancy in the service of his Redeemer. The intense hatred which the cruelty practised by Alva excited is strikingly illustrated by a satirical poem of the time, entitled the "Ghent Paternoster":—

> **"Our Devil, who dost in Brussels dwell,**
> **Cursed be thy name in earth and hell,**
> **Thy kingdom speedily pass away,**
> **Which hath blasted and blighted us many a day,**
> **Thy will never more be done**
> **In heaven above nor under the sun.**
> **Thou takest daily our daily bread,**
> **Our wives and children lie starving or dead."**

It was this state of things that made William the Silent, inspired with true patriotism, resolve to stake his all to rescue his country or perish in the attempt. Along with his brother, he made an appeal to arms. Louis of Nassau, his brother, gained a brilliant victory, but Alva set out against him. Before doing so, however, he executed twenty nobles, amongst whom were Egmont and Horn. Louis' army was completed routed. With thirty thousand men William crossed the Meuse, shoulder deep. Alva manœuvred and declined to give battle. Orange, for want of money and provisions, was obliged to retire and disband. No one ever showed more self sacrifice and courage than he. He sold all his personal property, plate, and jewellery to pay his army. When defeated again and again, and after all his brothers were slain one by one, and the flower of their army perished, he still hoped against hope. Speak of Bruce and Wallace—never did they display greater heroism than William the Silent. He never lost faith in God nor in the justness of his cause, nor did he lose hope of success. The Spanish soldiers proved too much for the Netherlanders in the open field. How could it be otherwise? They were then the best trained and disciplined in the world, whereas the Netherlanders were mainly extemporised from amongst the merchants and farmers.

At last the Sea Beggars took possession of their northern provinces one by one till the whole of Holland was rescued from the Spanish power. William was called to be governor —a call which he accepted, travelling in the guise of a working man from France to Holland through the ranks of his enemies. At the head of a powerful army he marched to the southern provinces to rescue them from the hands of Alva's successor. The Netherlands were too hot now for the bloody Duke, and the King found it to be the best policy to withdraw him. William calculated upon being assisted in his expedition by Admiral Coligni, the leader of the Hugue-

nots. He was making sure of success when he received a blow which dashed all his best hopes to the ground. The terrible news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew came upon him like a bolt from the blue. The Protestants of France were murdered by one fell stroke. No wonder although William gave up his expedition and returned to his northern provinces. Meanwhile Requesens, Alva's successor, died suddenly.

The Spanish soldiers, clamouring for pay, revolted, and attacked some of the great cities. Antwerp with all its wealth was sacked for three days, and the most dreadful cruelties were perpetrated. The southern provinces invited William to come to their help to quell the rebellion of the Spanish soldiers. He went, captured Ghent, and restored order. He was now practically master of all the Netherlands, but many of the nobles proved false to him. A rebellion broke out again under Don John, Philip II.'s brother, with the result that William returned again to his northern provinces to consolidate his power in Holland. The new Regent, Don John, died also suddenly, and the reins passed into the hands of the Duke of Parma—the son of the Duchess Margaret of Parma, the King's half-sister—an able and astute governor, who succeeded in severing the Southern provinces from Holland.

In the meantime, Leyden was besieged by the King's army. Upon the result of this siege it was felt that the independence of Holland largely hung. The Spanish army were more than double the besieged. The city was surrounded for more than three months. William had his headquarters at Delft and Rotterdam. His forces were not strong enough to encounter the Spaniards; there was no hope of raising the siege. The King and Pope promised full pardon to the besieged on condition of surrender, but, knowing what value to attach to their promises, they refused. The Prince suggested that the flood gates of the sea should

be opened, and the plains inundated. The people consented, although that meant the destruction of all their fruitful fields and vineyards, the time being harvest. The water dykes were opened, but the sea took long to flow over the plains. A succession of dykes had to be broken to allow the Prince's fleet to sail onward. In a fierce fight to capture one of these dykes, a Zealander tore the heart out of his Spanish victim, fastened his teeth in it, and threw it to a dog, exclaiming, "'Tis too bitter!" a sad testimonial of the ferocity engendered by this war for national existence. The besieged inhabitants were perishing in hundreds of the famine that raged within the walls. "Cats, dogs, rats, mice, and other vermin were esteemed luxuries."

The Burgomaster or Provost was assailed for not surrendering. "I know," he said, "we shall starve if relief will not come, but starvation is preferable to dishonoured death. Your menaces move me not; my life is at your disposal. Here is my sword, plunge it into my heart, and divide my flesh among you to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender so long as I remain alive." This speech inspired many of the people with still greater courage. Some of the men on the walls, in answer to the sneers of the Spaniards, said, "Ye call us dog and cat eaters. It is true, and as long as ye hear a dog bark or a cat mew within the walls, ye may know that the city holds out. We have two hands, we will eat the one and with the other wield the sword to protect our homes, our wives, and children before we surrender." Leyden was sublime in its despair.

After some days, the waters of the ocean covered the plains. A stormy wind forced it forward in volume sufficient to allow the Beggars' fleet to sail into the city. The Spaniards fled in panic at the noise of the falling of the city wall, which was undermined by the sea. Had they remained till the morning, they could have entered the city

over the fallen wall, but God had interposed as He did in the case of the Assyrian hosts.

When the people of Leyden saw the arrival of the fleet that saved them, they gathered, along with their deliverers, into the cathedral to give thanks to God. The singing of the psalms was too much for the people. The capacious building resounded to their loud sobbing as they completely broke down. The Prince of Orange founded the University of Leyden in grateful remembrance of this signal deliverance.

In the year 1574, seven years thereafter, the seven provinces were thoroughly united, and in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1579 they threw off entirely the Spanish yoke and proclaimed their independence, choosing William the Silent as their governor. He refused to be called King. The Protestant faith was now established throughout the provinces, but toleration was granted to Roman Catholics. Next year Philip II. proclaimed William an outlaw, and an enemy to the human race, and offered a reward of "twenty thousand golden crowns with a patent of nobility and pardon for all past offences to anyone who would assassinate the Prince." After six futile attempts at assassination, a fanatic Catholic succeeded in dealing the fatal blow, July 15th, 1584. Balthazar Gerard, the assassin, had for years determined to do this deed; for this end he pretended to be an enthusiast for the reformed faith—a pious, psalm-singing, thorough Calvinistic youth, having a Bible or a psalm book under his arm as he walked the streets. Under the guise of a true Protestant, he was successful in being sent on a mission to the Prince, after the deliverance of which he lingered about the Palace door, expressing a desire to wait for the religious services if he had better clothes. The Prince, informed of this, presented him with a suit of clothes and a piece of money. With the latter the assassin purchased a pistol and poisoned slugs with which he shot the Prince through

the heart from a concealed recess of the Palace stair as he was retiring from dinner. The Prince's last words were: "Oh! my God, have mercy upon my soul, have mercy upon my poor people!" William the Silent did not die too soon either for his country or for his fame. The most difficult part of his task was over. The seven provinces elected his son, Morice, trained as a skilful general, in his father's place. Under his youthful government, great success was achieved, and in 1602 the Dutch struck a final blow at the Spanish treasure fleet from the East and West Indies. A suspension of arms was agreed to in 1607, and a truce for twelve years, which became a lasting peace, was arranged in 1609. The Dutch had won their independence, and had become a strong Protestant power, whose supremacy on the seas was challenged only by England.

During all these stormy times not only was there a distinct Church in the Netherlands, but that Church had formed its confession and constitution, which was largely based upon the Geneva model. The Westminster Confession, which became the creed of most of the Protestant Churches in English-speaking lands, was largely based upon the Dutch confession, and the theologians who framed its articles borrowed largely from the stores of the Dutch reformers, who had just emerged from their terrible and prolonged struggle with Spanish Popery.

The Reformation in the Netherlands was effected by a combination of sacred and civil forces. It began on religious lines, having its origin not merely in the new learning headed by Erasmus and his humanistic school, but also, and very specially, in the Word of God and in the writings of the reformers of Germany and other lands, largely read by the people. Thus begun, the Reformation was carried forward to a successful issue by the patriotism and piety of William the Silent. The word patriotism is used advisedly. To begin with, William was

brought up a Roman Catholic, and his sympathies were with that Church for the greater part of his life. Whether a man was a Calvinist or a Catholic was not of much interest to him. Perhaps upon the whole he thought a gentleman should die in the faith in which he was brought up. But William detested tyranny and hated murder. His soul recoiled from cruelty and oppression.

That his country should flow with the blood of thousands of men and women because they maintained certain views in religion he deprecated with all his soul. But when at last the real problem of the Reformation forced itself upon him, he began to ask what all this confidence meant, by which nervous, unlettered men and feeble women were enabled to die with such heroic courage at the stake.

The spirit of the Reformation touched the Prince's heart, and he ceased to be any longer a subject of the Pope. When he embraced the Reformation he rose above the reformers. Of all men of the age, he was the only man who fully comprehended the principle which the reformers asserted. He alone seemed to understand spiritual freedom and individual responsibility, and on that account he became a martyr to nonconformity. The Catholics persecuted the Protestants, and the Protestants the Catholics. William of Orange enforced the principle that a man should not be persecuted at all for his religious opinions. He was the earliest teacher of toleration. To his confidential agent he wrote, "Should we obtain power over any city or cities, let the community of Papists be as much respected and protected as possible. Let them be overcome, not by violence, but with gentlemindedness and virtuous treatment."

This great man was far in advance of his age, politically and religiously. He was a man of God and yet a man of affairs; a soldier of the Cross and yet a sagacious captain; a good Christian and yet a great statesman; profoundly

devout and yet profoundly politic. "I do not," he exclaimed emphatically, "calumniate those who tell us to put our trust in God. That I do myself, but it is trusting in God to use means which He places in our hands and to ask that His blessing may come upon them." When for the last time a fugitive and an outlaw he returned to the land which he was to save, he said, "There I will make my grave." There he made his grave. His body is enshrined in its dust, and his memory in the hearts of its people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

John Knox.*

The Scotland of the sixteenth century was very different from that of the twentieth century. Then the population was about one million, now it is well-nigh five millions. The Capital then, St. Andrews, had only two thousand of a population, Edinburgh, eight thousand, and Glasgow, now the second city of the empire, only about five thousand. Although the population, however, was small, the social, religious, and political forces of the country were many and strong.

The land was divided between the aristocracy and the Church, the latter having the bigger and the better share. The throne was weak, the nobles were without culture, without knowledge of affairs, and without patriotism. "The clergy were wealthy, arrogant, and profligate; every post of influence and dignity of State was in their hands. The people, weighed down by the double yoke of feudalism and ignorance, had neither national life nor organ of national action. There was nothing strong in the country but the Church, and the Church was very strong, stronger in proportion to its wealth and population than anywhere else in Europe. The rank and file of the people were either the slaves of the Church or the serfs of the nobles."

When matters were thus at their worst, the great religious reforming movement that was passing wave-like over the continent of Europe and over England, touched the Scottish

* With the exception of the introduction, this chapter appeared in a former publication.

shores. The Bible in the vernacular found its way into every town and country district, and was read to the uneducated by a few daring spirits among the priesthood and the laity. The martyr flame of Patrick Hamilton, one of the young accomplished Scottish noblemen, who for a time held the titular office of abbot of Fearn, kindled in turn a flame of religious life and enthusiasm which all manner of Church and State persecution failed to extinguish. This great religious force no sooner awakened the national religious instincts, than it stirred the active opposition of Church and State. The Queen Regent, the widow of James V., a member of the persecuting bloody house of the Guises, set in motion all her plans of intrigues, in conjunction with France and Spain, to destroy Protestantism in England and Scotland, and Cardinal Beaton, backed by the priesthood, dragged to the prison and to the stake those who were suspected of favouring the new faith. These were some of the forces which John Knox found at work when he espoused the cause of the Reformation.

The three great rivers of Southern Scotland, the Clyde, the Annan, and the Tweed have their sources within a very short distance of each other on the same hill. The Stuarts, who became the royal family of Scotland; the Knoxes, from whom descended the reformer of Scotland; and the Wallaces, from whom descended the greatest liberator of Scotland, had their lands on the lovely banks of the Clyde—then a pure stream—a little below Paisley, in Inch, Knock, and Elderslie, three ancient estates that are within a few miles distance of each other.

At this day the farm house of Knock is pointed out about a mile to the north of Paisley. In olden times the owners of land frequently took their family name from their lairdship; accordingly the proprietor of the Knock lands assumed the name of Knock or Knox, which is nothing more or less than our Gaelic word Cnoc, or rising ground. This we

believe to be the origin of the name Knox, so illustrious in our Scottish annals. It is specially striking that the ancestors of John Knox and Mary Stuart should have been so near neighbours. Doubtless there were old contentions between the sturdy lairds of Knock and the powerful founders of the Paisley Abbey, to foreshadow the conflicts of later days between their respective descendants, Scotland's queen and Scotland's reformer.

Though Knox came of western stock, he was born in East Lothian in 1505, in Gifford Gate, a suburb of Haddington. Having received the best education that the Grammar School of that town could furnish, Knox was sent to the University of Glasgow in 1522, at the age of seventeen. We may conceive of the young student, often on his way to visit his friends on the Knock lands, walking along the banks of the Clyde—undisturbed then by the clang of hammer and sound of horns—admiring the beautiful and placid stream, only occasionally ruffled by the rise of the salmon, and the wing of the wild fowl startled from its quiet rest.

For the long period of twenty-three years the history of Knox is wrapt in almost complete obscurity. The few glimpses we catch of him, through historic reference, indicate that he became a priest of the Romish Church at the age of about twenty-five; that he went from Glasgow to the University of St. Andrews, where he distinguished himself as a scholar, and became one of its lecturers in philosophy; that afterwards he discharged the office of a priest in his native town, where he diligently applied himself to work and study. The works of Augustine and Jerome led him to study the Bible earnestly and prayerfully for himself, all which, together with the preaching of Mr. Williams, a countryman of his own and a reformer, slowly but decidedly resulted in his conversion to God and his renunciation of the Romish Church.

At the age of forty-two, coming forth like Moses of old

from his obscurity, we find Knox fearlessly and faithfully standing by the side of George Wishart, bearing his sword to protect him against the plots of his enemies to take away his life; nor was it till Wishart insisted upon his returning to his "bairns," saying that "ane was sufficient for a sacrifice," that he obeyed. From this time Knox became a pronounced supporter of the Reformation, and was marked for persecution. For protection he was obliged to flee to the Castle of St. Andrews, which was then held by the conspirators against Cardinal Beaton, and by many earnest friends of the Reformation, who found it the only place of safety in the land. In the chapel of the castle Knox began to teach a few pupils—noblemen's sons from Lothian. His teaching was in public and from the Scriptures. So highly delighted were the refugee reformers with his instruction that they besought him to become their teacher and preacher. Having been met with a decided refusal, they were determined to take him by guile. The chaplain of the castle one day preached a sermon on the election of ministers, at the close of which he turned to John Knox, in the presence of the congregation, saying: "I have a charge from all here present, which is this, in the name of God and His son Jesus Christ, that you take upon you the duty of preaching to this congregation, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and to have His grace multiplied unto you." Then turning to the people, he asked: "Was not this your charge?" They answered, "It was, and we approve it," whereupon Knox, abashed, burst into tears, and withdrew to his chamber. From that day till he began publicly to preach, his countenance declared the grief and heaviness of his heart.

Having had liberty granted him to preach in the Parish Church in St. Andrews, he took his text from Daniel, and by the most conclusive Scriptural argument, in the most eloquent and scathing language, he attacked the Romish

Church from Pope to priest. The sermon created great excitement. Hitherto no one dared to speak so plainly and boldly. The audience murmured among themselves, saying: "Others hewed the branches of Popery, but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole;" and so it was. Knox laid the axe at the root of the poisonous tree. He held and taught that the Word of God must rule supreme. On being told that the spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the Word of God, his opponents said: "If so, ye will leave us no kirk." Knox, with his characteristic humour, replied: "Indeed, I read in David that there is a church of the wicked, for he says: 'I hate the congregation of the wicked;' that church you may have without the Word."

In those days, when the art of war, especially of siege, was in its infancy in Scotland, a very small force was capable of holding the castle of St. Andrews in defiance of the Regent Arran. A French fleet, however, at the request of the Regent, appeared on the scene, and soon forced the place. Knox and all the leading reformers became French prisoners and French slaves, to row in the galleys, to the benches of which they were unmercifully chained.

At this time two events transpired which roused the spirit of the nation against the cruelty and hypocrisy of the priesthood, and hastened forward the cause of truth and liberty. Hamilton, Bishop of St. Andrews, prosecuted heresy with the zeal and wickedness of his murdered predecessor, Cardinal Beaton. Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest, was dragged before the court. So worn out with age and hardship was he, that it was not expected he would be able to answer the questions put to him, but to the surprise of all he managed his defence with great spirit. Poor Mill was condemned to the flames; but such was the horror felt at the conviction of this innocent victim that the clergy could not prevail upon a secular judge to ratify the sentence, and

not an individual in the town could be got to give or sell a rope to bind the martyr to the stake, so that the archbishop had to furnish one himself. When commanded to go to the stake the old man, with becoming spirit, refused, saying: "I am forbidden of God to put a hand on myself." The wretch in charge having then pushed him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying: "I will go to the altar of God; as for me," he added, with a voice trembling with age, "I am fourscore years and two old, and cannot live long by course of nature, but a hundred better will rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust I shall be the last to suffer death in Scotland for this cause." He was indeed the last; his death was the death of Popery in this realm. An immense pile of stones was reared by the citizens of St. Andrews over the place of execution. When removed by the priests, next morning the sullen and ominous monument was restored. The knell of Popery was rung, and Scotland was prepared to start up as one man to shake itself free of the monster which for so many centuries prostrated its strength and preyed upon its vitals.

The other event that largely helped forward the Reformation at this time was an attempt by the priests to prove themselves possessors of supernatural and miracle working power. Near Musselburgh, at the Chapel of the Lady of Loretto, an immense crowd was assembled to witness the priests miraculously restoring sight to a blind beggar well known in that district. The blind man was accompanied by a procession of priests; there he was, sure enough—the blind beggar whom they almost all knew; that strangers might assure themselves of his blindness, he was led by the hand amongst them; his eyes they examined, and were satisfied that he was really blind. When he was brought back to the priests, who were on a raised platform, they laid their hands upon him, after invoking the Virgin's help, and immediately he received his sight, and went down amongst the people to

show the genuineness of the miracle performed. Amongst the crowd was a gentleman known as Colville of Cleish, a brave man and a Protestant. Less credulous than the rest, he was determined to get to the bottom of the matter; and slipping a coin into the hand of the beggar, no longer blind, and giving him his address, he asked him to call at his lodgings. The beggar having done so, Colville closed the door, and by threats and promises induced the young man to tell the truth, which he did as follows:—When in the service of certain nuns near Edinburgh this youth got into the habit of turning up the white of his eyes and keeping them in that position, so as to appear blind. This trick the monks thought of turning to some account, and having kept him concealed for some years, so as not to be recognised by his acquaintances, they turned him out the blind beggar. To confirm his narrative, the lad played his trick before Colville by turning his eyes and casting up the white to perfection. Colville took him to the cross of Edinburgh, and exposed the whole affair to the confusion of the fraternity of priests, who would have taken speedy vengeance on their former tool, had not Colville stood beside him with his drawn sword while he made his confession and went through his performance; after which, placing him on his horse, he carried him off to Fife. These incidents of Walter Mill and the blind beggar exposed the hollowness and wickedness of the Romish Church, and tended, in no small degree, to strengthen the cause of Protestantism. Meanwhile England largely helped the reformers against the powerful forces of the bishops, and enabled them to overthrow the latter at Pinkie, and thereby put a stop to persecution, at least for a time. Scotland, having no friendly feeling towards England, agreed to contract with France, and the young Mary Stuart was accordingly sent across the sea, to the end, Knox says, "That she might drink in that liquor that should remain with her all her lifetime for a

plague to the realm and her own final destruction." It is of special interest to note that the galley of which John Knox was one of the rowers came to Dumbarton and took the young Mary, then about nine years of age, on board, and conveyed her to Brest. For nineteen months, through winter's cold and summer's heat, now on French rivers now on the open sea, did John Knox toil on as a galley slave, yet this did not daunt his spirit; he and his companions, though threatened with torments unless they would give reverence to the Mass, stood faithful and firm. When the anthem, "God save the Queen," was sung by the rest, the Scotchmen put on their caps or covered their heads with their hoods. On one memorable occasion an image of the Virgin was brought to be kissed, and was presented to Knox, amongst others; he gently said, "Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed;" when it was forced to his face, he took and cast it into the river, saying, "Let your lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim."

When suffering from fever and on the point of death, as his galley was lying between Dundee and St. Andrews, he said cheerfully, "I see the steeple of the place where God first opened my mouth to His glory, and I feel fully persuaded that I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify His name in that place." Future history shows how this anticipation was realised. Having obtained his liberty on the application of the English Ambassador, Knox returned to England, where he spent six years in preaching in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, enjoying the favour of the young and good King Edward. He was offered high promotion, even a bishopric, which he refused, disapproving as he did of many of the principles of the Church of England, especially that which makes no provision to prevent unworthy persons from going to the communion table.

After the death of Edward and the accession of Bloody Mary, Knox was obliged to leave England for the Continent,

where he passed three years in quiet, presiding over the English congregation at Geneva; here he came much in contact with Calvin, and gained in his intercourse with him knowledge and experience which proved invaluable to him in the prosecution of his great future work. It may be remarked that, when in England, he paid a short visit to Scotland, which resulted in his being proclaimed by the Queen Regent as an outlaw and a rebel.

Meanwhile the Reformation was gaining ground; the Scriptures were being read at stated meetings, elders were chosen and appointed to various duties. Many of the leading noblemen of the kingdom entered into covenant to support the cause of truth. In this document the word congregation occurs frequently, and means all those who espoused the reformed cause. The leading men amongst them were designated the lords of the congregation. Out of policy, the Queen Regent, Mary's mother, showed some leniency and toleration to the reformers, but when it suited her purpose she revealed herself in her true colours; she commanded that the sacraments should not be dispensed but by order of the bishops, and insisted upon many ceremonies of her Church being observed. Both these orders were disobeyed; then all the preachers were summoned to stand their trial for breach of the law. The plot for the destruction of Protestantism in Scotland was strengthening; while the great scheme for the extirpation of all reformers in Europe was in progress. Knox had discovered this plot, and was anxious to communicate it at once to Queen Elizabeth, whose destruction was implied in it, that Mary might be Queen of Scotland and England. Elizabeth, having been previously deeply offended at Knox, would not suffer him to have any interview, nor even grant a safeguard to him through England; he accordingly, instead of going to London, sailed direct for Leith.

On the morning of the 4th of May, 1559, the Church's

Provincial Council was sitting in the monastery of Grey-friars, deliberating over their plans to crush all Protestant opposition, when a messenger entered in haste and informed them that John Knox had on the previous day arrived in Leith, and that last night he slept in Edinburgh. The clergy were panic struck with the intelligence; and, fore-boding the ruin of all their plans, they dismissed the Council in great haste and confusion. A messenger was instantly despatched to the Queen Regent, who was at that time in Glasgow, and in a day or two Knox was once more proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel.

Nothing daunted, our reformer thanked God that he had come in the thick of the fight; and resolving to stand by his brethren, he proceeded at once to Dundee, where a conference was held as to how the congregation should act with regard to their six ministers who were summoned for trial. It was agreed at this conference that they should be accompanied by the people, and the Queen Regent, alarmed at this step, promised that, if the congregation remained at Perth, a stop should be put to the trial; when it was found that this was done, the ministers, in their absence, were proclaimed out-laws and rebels. The lords of the congregation were shocked at this deception. John Knox preached in the Parish Church of Perth with great fervour against this wrong and against the idolatry of the Mass. Great as was the excite-ment produced by the preacher's fervid eloquence, the people remained quiet, and many of them returned to their homes. The priest, however, in defiance of the sermon, proceeded to the altar to celebrate Mass; a boy cried, "This is intolerable —that when God by His Word has plainly damned idolatry we should stand and see it used in despite." The priest struck the boy, who, in turn, after the manner of his kind, threw a stone at him, which, missing the mark, shattered to pieces an image on the altar. As a match set to the prairie, the passion of the crowd was inflamed, and in a few minutes

all the madonnas, saints, angels, and crucifixes in the building were lying on the floor broken into a thousand fragments. This outrage was no fault of Knox's; he indeed calls the perpetrators "the rascal multitude." The people were prepared to show their disapproval of the Romish Church and its idolatry, and it only required a little spark to kindle the flame of enthusiasm, that resulted not only in this destruction, but in the yielding of town after town to the Reformation, till at last, on the 29th of June, the congregation and its lords took possession of Edinburgh. It was on the 2nd of May that Knox landed at Leith; within the space of two months the battle had been fought and won; the Romish Church of Scotland was lying in ruins. It is alleged that Knox, referring to the destruction of these monasteries, said, "The best way to keep the rooks from returning is to pull down their nests."

The Queen Regent called for help from France to subdue the tumult, but England coming to the rescue of the reformers, the French returned after setting out for Scotland. Thereafter, by an Act of Parliament, the Regent was suspended from her authority. So ended the civil war, and so were secured for the land its inestimable blessings of Gospel liberty. On the 18th of July the congregation met in St. Giles to return thanks to God for the unexpected success of the reformed cause.

The Reformed Church was established by Act of Parliament and Assembly. The first General Assembly of the Church was held on the 20th December, 1560, in the Magdalene Chapel, which still exists in the Cowgate in Edinburgh. At that meeting forty persons were present, of whom only six were minsters, but these were all the ministers in Scotland at the time. The first Moderator was a layman, George Buchanan, who was John Knox's right hand man in his great educational scheme. At this Assembly there were great complaints "that kirks lacked

members, that ministers lacked their stipends, and that wicked men were permitted to be school masters and to infect the youth."

The doctrines of the Church were embodied in a Confession of Faith drawn up by John Knox and four assistant ministers. The general scope of these doctrines is Calvinistic. Many men regret that this Confession of Faith of John Knox was ever displaced by the Westminster Confession. Edward Irving valued it so much that he read it twice a year to his congregation in London. For nearly one hundred years it was the recognised standard of the Church of Scotland. The greatest battles that the Church ever waged were fought under it. It was the creed of the Melvilles, the Hendersons, and the Rutherfords, and must remain a proof of the attainments and genius of its authors. The worship of the Church was guided to a large extent by liturgy, not, however, that of the Church of England, but of the Genevan Prayer Book, and what was called Knox's Liturgy. In this liturgy there were forms of prayer for public worship, the sacraments, marriage, baptism, and the sick. A large portion was made up of hymns as well as psalms, being printed with fixed tunes, and care was taken that the people should be taught to sing them. After the issue of the Psalter, in 1564, there were commenced those interesting institutions called the "Sang Schules." We find an instance of as many as two thousand people singing the 2nd verse of the 124th psalm to the very music to which it is sung to-day, and able to do so with harmony in four parts. In the Guide for Worship it was enjoined that in all large towns prayers should be read daily in the church. For a hundred years this liturgy of Knox was part of the proposed uniformity with England, and was regarded as a sad innovation. No less of an innovation would it be considered by many even now were we to restore the form of worship established by John Knox.

Great as the success of the reformed cause was in the land, and supported though it was by the nobility and freed from the interference of the Queen Regent, yet there was much to make its supporters tremble. The Acts of Parliament bearing upon religious liberty and the establishment of Protestantism, Queen Mary and her husband—the Dauphin of France—refused with scorn to sign. Mary became a widow, and from this time her history becomes interwoven with that of Scotland and of Knox. John Knox and Queen Mary stand out from the crowd in the stirring scenes of the Reformation in Scotland.

On the 19th August, 1561, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, amid dripping rain and dark ominous clouds, there landed at Leith the girl widow of nineteen, Mary, Queen of Scotland. Her heart was full of grief as she cast a fond thought upon the fair land left so far behind. She burst into tears as she saw the horses waiting to convey her to the Palace of Holyrood. Every one must regard with generous pity the young girl, whose misfortune it was to be cast into a position for which by temperament and education she was so utterly unfitted. But while we make every allowance for her upbringing, her surroundings, and her age, we refuse to join the romantic and sentimental school who would canonise Mary into a saint and a martyr.

No one will read Queen Mary's history without seeing much in her to be admired. She was endowed with an intellect of unusual vigour, with keen political insight, and with a resolute will; she was in her own way almost as remarkable as Knox was in his. To quickness of perception, to heroic bravery, she added a beauty and a fascination which supplied exquisite instruments for ceaseless intrigue. She had all the grace and charm of the Stuarts, but she had greater mental power and force of character than any of them.

On the first Sabbath after Mary's arrival, Mass was

celebrated in the Palace, in private. In a short time, when her influence over the leading men grew stronger, it was celebrated in public. No wonder that this alarmed Knox, for it meant defiance to the reformed doctrine. It meant destruction to the Reformation, so far as the power of Mary could effect it. That Mass was more to be dreaded by Knox than a thousand armed enemies arrived in any part of the realm. In his pulpit he raised his voice against it, and was on that account ordered into the presence of the Queen, not, however, more to his alarm than to her fear, for from his lips she heard words that struck her dumb for a quarter of an hour. On recovering herself, she remarked, "I see that my subjects must obey you, not me." "God forbid!" rejoined Knox, "but rather both subject and ruler must obey God. Yea, God expects and claims kings to be foster fathers to His Church." "Yours is not the Church," said Mary, "that I will nurse. I will defend the Church of Rome; I believe it to be God's Church."

There were several interviews between Knox and the Queen. At one time the Queen would try to overawe him; at another time to gain his confidence by feigned submission and flattery. But neither the one nor the other made our hero swerve from the truth. Faithful was he, even at the expense of royal tears. "Pleasure I have none, but pain," said Knox, "in seeing your Majesty weep. I cannot see my own bairns weep without pain, much less my Queen, but I must sustain your Majesty's tears rather than hurt my conscience or betray my commonwealth."

Thinking that there was ground for treason against Knox for having issued a circular to the faithful touching certain transactions at the Palace, the Queen had him summoned before her council. She sat herself as one of the examiners, fully believing that she would succeed in having him condemned. As she saw him stand on trial at the head of the

long table in the council chamber, she burst out into laughter, saying, "That man once made me shed tears. I will see whether I will make him weep to-day." Overhearing the courtiers in Holyrood whisper, "He is not afraid of the Queen," he said in reply, "I have looked upon many an angry face without being much afraid; why should I now fear the face of gentle woman?" He cared as little for her cynical laugh as for her scowl; and on this occasion he needed not, for he was unanimously acquitted.

For some time after arriving in Scotland, Mary acted her part skilfully, successfully, and without guilt, but the barbarous assassination of Rizzio seems to have demoralized her finer nature; the terrible scene, when the poor wretch, clutching at his mistress for protection, was dragged forth to his doom by the hard-featured barons, and the still more terrible complicity in the act of her husband Darnley, had awakened in her a fierce desire for revenge; the malign influence of Bothwell completed the moral injury she had sustained, and all ended—God alone knows through what gradual steps she was led on—in the dreadful scene of her husband's murder at Kirk-o'-Field.

The cause of the Reformation was much weakened by Mary; its best friends and supporters were banished; the old Church of Rome was partially restored; Mass was publicly celebrated, and altars were said to be prepared for St. Giles. The plot of France was succeeding well when those events now mentioned transpired—events that sealed the doom of Mary. Her marriage with Bothwell resulted in her dethronement, and in the coronation of her infant son, James VI. Mary, the unfortunate, misguided Queen, spent the remainder of her life in prison within the walls of Lochleven Castle and elsewhere. There the Scottish Lords presented to her a document for her signature, assigning over all her rights to her infant son. It was hard to ask one, by

a single stroke of the pen, to deprive herself for ever of all her royal rights; it was hard thus to put an end to all her bright prospects and seal her fortunes and her doom.

Few scenes in history are more touching; it is easy to imagine the inward struggle and hesitation of the Queen; to see her lifting up the parchment and then dropping it in anger; to see her and hear her utter the words so beautifully put into her lips by the poet—

"'My lords, my lords!' the captive said, 'were I but once more free,
With ten good knights on yonder shore to aid my cause and me,
That parchment would I scatter wide to every breeze that blows,
And once more reign a Stuart-Queen o'er my remorseless foes.'
A red spot burned upon her cheek, streamed her rich tresses down;
She wrote the words—she stood erect—a queen without a crown!"

After spending nineteen years in prison, at the age of forty-five, from one of the halls of Fotheringay Castle, Mary was led to the place of execution, forsaken by all her friends. The brilliant courtiers that once lived by her smiles and fascination had forsaken her; the cause she set her heart upon establishing in Scotland was lost; alone she stood beside the block, save for her little dog that stood by her.

"Her neck is bared—the blow is struck—the soul is passed away;
The bright, the beautiful, is now a bleeding piece of clay."

And as the blood gurgled on the floor it was lapped by her little dog. True—

"The blood of beauty, wealth, and power—the heart-blood of a queen,
The noblest of the Stuart race—the fairest earth has seen—
Lapped by a dog!—a solemn text! Go think of it alone,
Then weigh against a grain of sand the glories of a throne."

On account of the disturbed state of matters in Edinburgh, Knox was compelled to retire for a time to St. Andrews. The Popish and Protestant parties were again struggling for the mastery, and Edinburgh was not safe for the reformer to live in. Melville describes how Knox, when in St. Andrews, used to be supported into the pulpit, so weak that

"his servant lifted him up, and it behoved him to lean on the pulpit. He was moderate for half an hour till he opened up the text, but before he was done, he was so vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads and fly out of it." "When he entered upon the application of his text," adds Melville, "he made me so to fear and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write notes." Supporting himself on his staff and leaning upon the arm of his servant, he often visited the college yard, and called the students to him, spoke kindly to them and blessed them, enjoining them to be faithful to God and His work in the land.

On returning to Edinburgh, and hearing the terrible news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by which over twenty thousand Protestants were murdered in France in one week, till for several days the streets of Paris literally ran with blood, Knox once more, weak though he was, preached in St. Giles. It was the last time; he stoutly denounced the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France, invoked the curse of God upon the King, saying that vengeance should never depart from him or his house, and that none that should come of his loins would enjoy the kingdom in peace unless repentance prevented God's judgment. This was Knox's last public appearance, save at the ordination of a colleague and successor. His time now drew near when he must depart; though vigorous beyond measure in mind and spirit, Knox was by no means a strong man. Small in person, and of a delicate constitution, it is a marvel to many that he was enabled to get through so much work. A few days before he died, he ordered his coffin to be made, and gave instructions that his servants be paid their wages. Paying one of his menservants himself, he gave him twenty shillings above his fee, saying, "Thou wilt never receive more from me in this life." To all his household he addressed suitable words of exhortation. When a religious lady was desiring him to praise God for all the good he did,

he interrupted her, saying, "Tongue, tongue, lady; flesh of itself is over proud, and needs no means to esteem itself."

The 24th November, 1572, was John Knox's last day on earth. His dying request to his wife was to read the seventeenth chapter of John, where he said he cast his first anchor. About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh and said, "Now it is come;" then he became speechless. Being asked to give a sign that he died in peace, he lifted up his hands several times. He expired without a struggle, in his sixty-seventh year.

Our reformer left behind him a widow and five children. Two sons were born to him by his first wife, Margory Bows. They died early, and without issue. His second wife was a daughter of Lord Ochiltree's, connected with the royal family of Scotland. She was married to him when she was nineteen and he was about fifty. The Papists said that it was by witchcraft he gained her affections. One of the daughters seemed to have inherited her father's spirit. She was married to a famous preacher and reformer of the name of Welsh. Welsh was banished to France for the truth's sake, when, after a long service there, he was recommended to return to his native air. Mrs. Welsh secured an audience of King James, and interceded for her husband. On being asked who her father was, she replied, "John Knox." "Welsh and Knox!" said the coarse King, "the devil never made such a match." "It's right like he did not, for we never speired his consent," was her reply. "How many children had your father?" inquired the King, "and are they lads or lasses?" "Three living, and all lasses," replied Mrs. Welsh. "God be thanked," said the King, "for had they been three lads, I never would enjoy my three kingdoms in peace. Give him his native air; give him the devil," continued the King. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," replied Mrs. Welsh, shocked at the King's profaneness. When told that if he would submit to the bishops

he might return, she replied, holding up her apron, "Please your Majesty, I had rather receive his head there." A daughter worthy of such a father, and a wife worthy of such a husband.

Knox's funeral took place two days after his death, and was attended by Morton—recently elected Regent—by all the nobility who were in the city, and by a vast concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the Regent said: "There lies he who never feared the face of man." That grave can any day be seen in Parliament House Square in Edinburgh, marked with the letters J. K. It lies under the shadow of his own St. Giles, and it is not desecrated though the busy crowds pass over it and hardly note it as they hurry on.

> **"Let the sound of those he wrought for,**
> **And the feet of those he fought for,**
> **Echo round his bones for ever more."**

"It seems to me hard measure," says Thomas Carlyle, "that this Scottish man, now after three hundred years, should have to plead like a culprit before the world: intrinsically for having been, in such way as it was then possible to be, the bravest of all Scotchmen! . . . He is the one Scotchman to whom of all others his country and the world owe a debt. He has to plead that Scotland would forgive him for having been worth to it any million 'unblamable' Scotchmen who need no forgiveness."

"What I have been to my countrie," wrote Knox himself, "albeit this unthankful aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come will bear witness to the treuth." It will be our shame, and the shame of Scotland, if that confidence is not justified.

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